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THE

LIFE AND TYPOGRAPHY

OF

WILLIAM CAXTON

ENGLAND'S FIRST PRINTER

VOL. I

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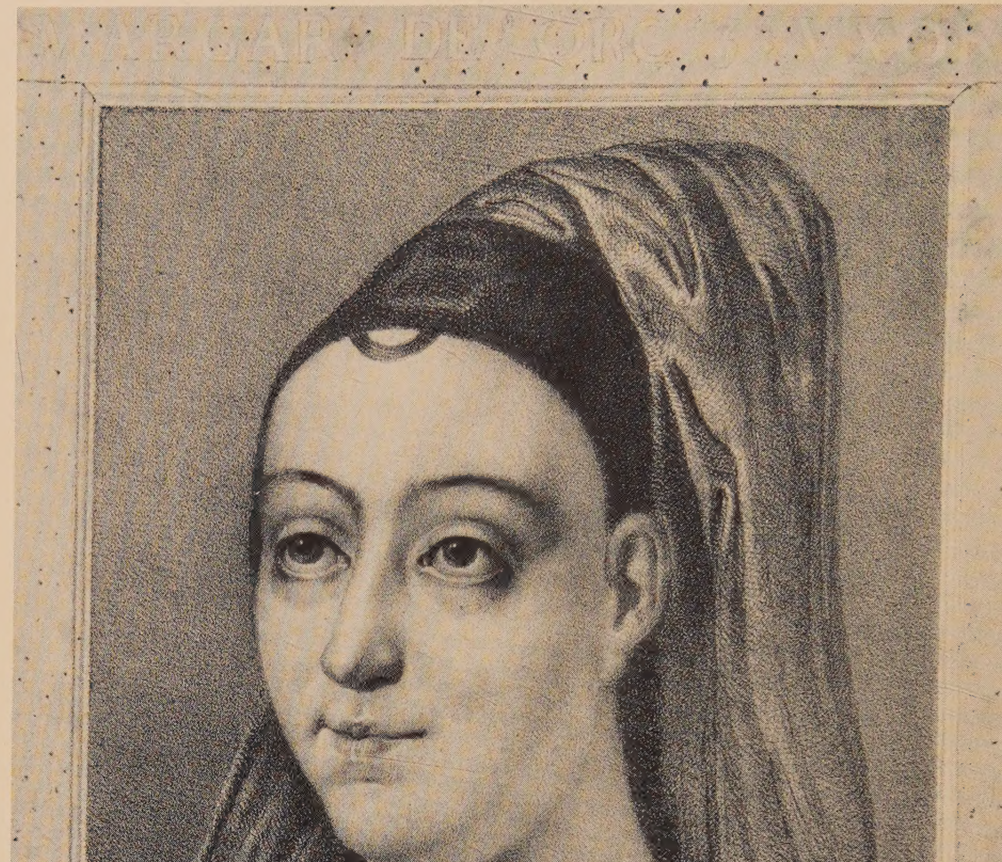
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THE LIFE AND TYPOGRAPHY

OF

William Caxton/

ENGLAND'S FIRST PRINTER

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WITH EVIDENCE OF HIS TYPOGRAPHICAL CONNECTION

WITH

COLARD MANSION

THE PRINTER AT BRUGES

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES BY WILLIAM BLADES

VOL. I

Burt Franklin: Bibliography and Reference Series # 74

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PREFACE TO VOL. I.

THE benefits conferred on Mankind by the Art of Printing are so obvious, and have been so often enforced by able writers, that although extremely tempting as a prefatory theme, there seems no occasion here to dilate upon them. Nor is there any need to introduce what may be termed the personal history of the present undertaking, and narrate the steps by which a simple list of books printed by Caxton, and arranged for private use, became augmented into two quarto volumes. But the reason for publishing at all *does* require some explanation, and the bibliographical student whose shelves are burthened with volumes treating of matters identical with those discussed in the following pages, may be inclined to demand an answer to the question which has often been put to the writer: Can anything new be said of Caxton?

The full answer to this question must be sought for in the volumes themselves, but it is proposed here briefly to lay before the reader the design of the work, and to draw his attention to those portions of it which affect subjects unnoticed by previous writers.

Since the publication in 1737 of "The Life of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton," by the Rev. John Lewis, of Margate, many biographies of our Prototypographer have appeared. Oldys, in 1748, wrote a careful and elaborate Article for the Biographia Britannica; Ames, in his Typographical Antiquities, 1749, paid great attention to the subject; Herbert followed with additions in 1785; and Dibdin, in 1810, having acquired the extensive manuscript Notes and Collections of Herbert and Gough, devoted his first volume entirely to Caxton and his works. Several "Lives," independently of the articles in various

Encyclopædias, have been subsequently published, but all owe the whole of their *facts* to Lewis, since whose time, more than 120 years ago, no new incident in Caxton's life has come before the English Public.

In this volume the following unpublished particulars will be offered to the Reader:—The Will of Robert Large, which, besides the well-known legacy to his apprentice, affords an insight to the household of which Caxton had become a member, together with some particulars of his fellow-apprentices.—Extracts from the old Records at Mercers' Hall, proving the exact date of Caxton's apprenticeship, and displaying him in the characters of Liveryman, Merchant Adventurer, Ambassador, and Governor of the English Merchants at Bruges.—The Charter of the Merchant Adventurers, preserved by Hakluyt, giving the exact character of the duties of Caxton as "Governor."—Extracts from the Archives at Bruges, yielding some interesting documents, viz.: The particulars of an Action brought against Caxton as surety for a defaulter; the presentation to him by the Town Council of certain complimentary gifts; and a Judgment awarded by him in his capacity of "Governor." This last was made known many years ago by M. Van Praet, but has not been noticed by any English writer.—Several particulars, though of less direct import, have been extracted from Liber Dunthorne, and Liber K. in the Archives of Guildhall; from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret, Westminster, and from the Wardens' Accounts of the Guild of our Lady in the same Church.

In addition to the above, it has been thought advisable to add some collateral evidence of the opportunities enjoyed by Caxton of cultivating his taste for literature in the libraries by which he was surrounded. French Antiquaries have eagerly sought for and published anything connected with the regal libraries amassed by the Kings and Royal Princes of France; by successive Dukes of Burgundy; by Louis de Bruges, and others. An examination of the Catalogues of these libraries proves that the works chosen by Caxton himself for issue, as well as those which he printed at the request of others, (English Poetry excepted,) were not only at that time very common in all the great libraries, but were also contained in those collections to which Caxton, from his position at Bruges, may without any stretch of probability be supposed to have had access.

Being familiar with all branches of the Art, I have endeavoured to use my practical experience in assisting me to discover the materials and practices employed while the Press was yet in its infancy. Some conclusions necessary to the argument concerning Caxton's early efforts as a Printer are introduced in this Volume; but that portion of the subject will be further elucidated in the opening Chapter of Vol. II.

To what Printer Caxton was indebted for his typographical instruction has never yet been decided. From the statement of Wynken de Worde we naturally turn to Cologne for some trace of him; but an examination of the productions of Ulric Zel, Arnold Therhoernen, P. de Olpe, and J. Koelhoff, who are the only known printers of that City from whom he could possibly have derived assistance, rendered the question still more puzzling, from the entire absence of similarity of typographical treatment. While perplexed with this discrepancy I turned to the early press of Bruges, of which the British Museum at that time (1859) could boast of only one small specimen; but the signs of typographical connection were there evident enough to induce me to inspect the collections of books, printed by Colard Mansion, in the libraries of Paris, Bruges, and Lille, scarcely half-a-dozen copies being known to exist elsewhere. This examination, of which the results are described in Chapter III., was to my mind decisive, and compelled me to reject entirely the uncertain claims of the unknown Cologne printer, and to ascribe to Colard Mansion, of Bruges, the entire typographical instruction of William Caxton. That this opinion is opposed to the settled belief of most Bibliographers is doubtless true; but that belief rests on a very questionable foundation, and although invested by age with some degree of strength has maintained its ground only because unopposed. The Reader's impartial consideration of the arguments on the other side is therefore particularly requested. But little attention has hitherto been bestowed upon the internal structure of books, and here I believe can be found the only unimpeachable evidence—evidence which cannot be falsified.

As the connection between the Bruges and Westminster Presses has hitherto been unnoticed by any Bibliographical Writer, and as no history of the early Bruges Press has yet been issued in this Country, it is hoped that the short account of Colard Mansion and his typographical productions, in Chapter III., will be welcome to the English Reader, and the more so as some further particulars in his life, published since Van Praet wrote his "Notice sur Colard Mansion," have been incorporated therewith. A few remarks on two works from the Press of that little-known and mysterious Printer, Jean Briton, of Bruges, have also been added.

After reviewing the early portion of Caxton's life—his mercantile career—the facilities afforded him by a residence in Bruges for developing a literary taste—the establishment of a Printing Press in that very city—and his typographical conversion—the Reader will be invited to accompany him to Westminster.

Here it would have been a pleasing task to show that Caxton held a higher chronological position on the Roll of Early Printers than that usually assigned to him, and still more gratifying to *prove* the introduction to England of the wonderful Art, so soon as 1474, the year fixed upon by most writers. But there is scarcely a shadow of evidence in favour of such an opinion, and therefore sentiment must give way to fact, and a somewhat later date be accepted.

Upon the settlement of Caxton at Westminster, in Court favour and in full employment, we might naturally expect to know and hear more about him than before; but here again the materials for his life are very scanty, being almost entirely comprised in a chronological list of his books. At *these* he laboured to his dying day; and a literary and bibliographical account of each separate publication will be found in the Second Volume of this work.

After tracing the worthy Printer to his last resting-place, in St. Margaret's, Westminster, the legacy left to future generations in his original writings will be submitted to the Reader. Those writings are now for the first time collected together, and considerable care has been taken to make the transcript represent with great accuracy the original text. This accuracy may probably be deemed by some as needlessly minute; for not only have the plainest orthographical errors been reproduced, but also the chance turn of a letter or the accidental change of a figure. It appeared to me that no positive advantage would be gained by attempting to rectify these; for, if evident errors, the Reader himself can at a glance correct them, the same as he would if he were perusing the original; and where there is the least room for a doubt, every one will admit the necessity of an exact copy of the original.

Particular attention is drawn to the curious history of his own times, given by Caxton in the only work of any importance or extent known to have issued from his pen—the Liber Ultimus of "The Polycronicon." So far as is known, this Chronicle, extending from A.D. 1360 to 1460, has never been reprinted, and it is hoped may form in itself no inapt supplement to the Polycronicon of Higden, as translated by Trevisa, and now being prepared for the Press, by the Rev. Churchill Babington, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The foregoing is an outline of the chief contents of the Volume now offered to the Reader, which may be said to embrace the *personal* history of Caxton, in contradistinction to his Bibliographical career.

A few words on the Plates. Only those who have endeavoured to obtain a real facsimile,—one which, for identity of types and exactness of measurement will bear the closest examination by the side of the original,—know the excessive difficulty of procuring an Artist clever and patient enough to execute the tracing, and workmen skilful enough to print it, without clogging or some worse distortion. If an engraving on Wood be the medium chosen, the opportunities of error are numerous—first in tracing the tracing on to the face of the block, and then from the engraver's tool. On Copper the difficulties, though of the same nature, are still greater. Lithography affords the only means of obtaining a real facsimile, as there the transfer is direct from the original tracing on to the stone. This method, however, is liable to two sources of error—the stretching of the tracing paper while in the act of being transferred to the stone, and the gradual clogging of the letters in working, to avoid which requires the greatest care and attention. Both these difficulties have been successfully surmounted in those Plates described as "Facsimile," and the Reader may not only depend upon the accuracy of form, but may be sure that the width and depth of the page do not vary from the original, a result due to the care and ingenuity of Mr. A. C. Tupper, Barge Yard, Bucklersbury. As no two copies of the same work are in all respects exactly alike, the particular book from which each plate was taken is noted. The peculiar treatment of Plates III and VIII necessitating the adoption of a raised surface, they were carefully engraved on wood; and these, therefore, although extremely accurate, do not pretend to the niceties of a facsimile.

The Frontispiece, drawn in chalk, by Mr. John Tupper, is taken from an original painting in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, who kindly permitted it to be copied for the present work, and to whom it was presented by the Rev. R. E. Kerrich, M.A., of Cambridge, in 1849. It is curious as a very early specimen of the Art of Portrait-painting, and exhibits great care in execution, excepting where evidently re-touched. It was probably painted at Bruges, from life; perhaps on the occasion of the Princess Margaret's marriage with Charles le Temeraire.

To render thanks for kindness received is always a pleasing duty, and with grateful feelings I acknowledge the obligations I am under for assistance during the progress of this Volume. To Mr. J. Winter Jones, Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum, who has frequently stood sponsor for me when desirous of visiting private libraries, and who has favored me with unusual facilities for consulting the collections under his charge, I am greatly indebted; Mr. W. B. Rye has afforded me much useful information; nor can I do otherwise than heartily acknowledge the general assistance and urbanity of Mr. G. Bullen, Mr. R. E. Graves, and all the officers in the British Museum, of whose services I have had to avail myself. To the Guildhall Library Committee I am obliged for permission to examine and copy from the City Records; and to Mr. Overall, Assistant Librarian, for his great courtesy under my numerous demands upon his time and attention: to the Court of the Mercers' Company, for access to their ancient Records, and to Mr. Barnes, their Clerk, I am under great obligations; also to the Rev. Dr. Hawtrey, Provost of Eton, for permission to take a facsimile from the rare "Fais du Jason" (the only copy in England), in the Library of that College. To M. Bossaert, of Bruges, I am deeply indebted for the communication of unpublished documents concerning Caxton, in the Archives of that City, and other information.

Nor do I owe less to assistance from private sources. My thanks are especially due to the Earl Spencer, for the loan of his unique copy of "Propositio Clarissimi Johannis Russell," and other works; to Mr. Bolton Corney, for the loan of many books, and the still more numerous and valuable suggestions of his well-stored bibliographical mind; to Mr. Tite, for his second edition of "Mirrour of the World;" and to numerous gentlemen whose assistance will be more appropriately acknowledged in the Second Volume. Mr. B. Beedham, of Kimbolton, has zealously assisted me in research, and supplied the material for many of the paragraphs in connection with the Probate Courts and the names of Caxton, Causton, &c. Mr. G. I. F. Tupper, to whose care all the tracings have been entrusted, has contributed also many most useful suggestions.

In conclusion, I can only regret that the treatment of so interesting a subject has not fallen into the hands of some one with more time and greater acquirements than I can ever hope to possess; but whatever errors or omissions may be discovered, and whatever the general verdict may be, I can affirm that truth, and truth alone, has been the aim of all my researches,—and especially so when in opposition to current opinions.

W. B.

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THE

LIFE AND TYPOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM CAXTON, THE MERCER, A.D. 1423—1471.

Where born—His Parents and Relations—Caxton, Cauxton, and Causton—When born—Date of Apprenticeship and its term—The Mercers' Company—Robert Large; his Residence; Family and Household; Death and Will—Events during Caxton's residence in London—His passage to the Low Countries, and progress there—A Law Suit—A Stop to Trade—Caxton in London; receives the Livery of his Company; fined for not attending the Mayor—The Merchant Adventurers' Company; their Charter and Constitution; their Connexion with the Mercers; Caxton appointed Governor; his Duties and Emoluments—His first Embassy, Letter to Caxton from the Wardens—Letter from the Earl of Warwick—Letter from Caxton to the Wardens, and the reply—Caxton's second Embassy—An Arbitration—Charles Duke of Burgundy and his Duchess—Caxton and the Vins d'honneur—He enters the service of the Duchess—Why did he resign his Governorship?—He translates "Le Recueil"—Its Popularity—He employs the Art of Printing with success.

A.D. 1422-3.

IN the Prologue to "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," Caxton declares of himself, "I was born * * in Kente in the Weeld." Lambarde says that the Weald had always been a very undefined portion of Kent, and that even in his time it was an easier thing to deny its existence altogether than to define its boundaries with any accuracy. Considerable research has been made, but in vain, to discover the exact locality where our Prototypographer first drew breath. There appears to be some connexion, though perhaps only verbal, between the old Manor of *Causton*, near Hadlow, and the family of Caxton; but, as will be shown farther on, the link is but slight, and we must fairly acknowledge that we can add nothing more precise to Caxton's own words, "I was born in Kente in the Weeld." Fuller in his "Worthies," overlooking this assertion, assigns the honor of his birth to the town of Caxton, in Cambridgeshire; but apparently on grounds no stronger than the identity in name.

Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, 4to. London, 1576, page 213.

The History of the Worthies of England, London, 1662, page 157.

A.D. 1422-3.

Although this cannot be maintained for a moment, a coincidence in connexion with this town may be worth noting. Earl Rivers, the patron and employer of Caxton on his first attempting the new Art of Printing, had ancestors who owned the town of Caxton; but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that either the family of Wydeville or Caxton had any connexion with this town in the 15th Century.

As to Caxton's pedigree and family we are equally in the dark, no trace of any relatives except his parents having been discovered. He tells us in the Prologue to his translation of "Charles the Great," that he was sent to school by his father and mother; and this is the only notice we have of their existence, unless we receive the opinion that the William Caxton who was buried in 1478 in St. Margaret's, Westminster, was the father of our printer. That the latter was buried also in St. Margaret's in 1491 is well known, but the connexion of the two cannot be grounded on more than identity of name as well as burial place; and the strength of this coincidence is somewhat diminished by the frequency with which the name of Caxton appears in the 14th and 15th Centuries. (Note *a.*) In one other instance there seems to be a probability of relationship. The records of the Mercers' Company contain many notices of the "entries" and "issues" of apprentices, and in 1447 it is recorded that one Richard Caxton had finished his term of servitude with John Harrowe. Now a son of this John Harrowe was one of the apprentices of Robert Large at the same time as our William Caxton. As Large and Harrowe were fellow Mercers, and evidently on friendly terms, and as each had an apprentice named Caxton, the probability is that the two youths were of one family.

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. K 3 & 6.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 14.

The City Merchants of those days were very exclusive in their reception of apprentices, and perhaps none more so than the Mercers, who ranked the first of all the City Companies. The leading men of the superior Companies, as was natural, apprenticed their sons to one another, and thus the family names of Caxton's fellow-apprentices are the names also of the Wardens, and the most respectable citizens of the period. The family name of "Caxton" does not, indeed, figure at all among the City magnates; but his admission to the household of one of London's most eminent Merchants, and his being apprenticed at the same time as his master's son, go far to prove the family to have been well-connected.

Auth. A. 11.

In the 15th Century the word Caxton was frequently pronounced *Cauxton* or *Causton*, the *x* and *s* being considered interchangeable; "to axe" is the common form of "to ask" in Caxton's works, just as

A.D. 1422-38.

Alisaunder is of Alexander,—the *u* being continually inserted after the *a* where the pronunciation was broad, as in Fra*u*nce, comma*u*nd, &c. It might therefore be expected that we should find the word under various forms of orthography, and such is the case; Caxton in Cambridgeshire is frequently spelt in the old Parish records Causton; and in the Mercers' books, Thomas *Cacs*ton appears as one of the Liverymen chosen to ride out to meet Edward IV on his entry into London, the name being immediately after entered as Thomas *Caus*ton. This opens a new field of inquiry, for the name of Causton was very common in that age, (Note *b*,) and a reference to any old Kentish history will show that there was in the 14th Century a Manor of Causton in Kent in the Weald, which was anciently held in possession by a family of the same name. (Note *c*.) This Manor was in the hundred of *Had*low, or *Haud*lo; and although for many years previously to Caxton's birth it had been alienated to the family of Watton, it is not impossible that a branch of the old stock may have become rooted in the neighbourhood. There is certainly no other place in the Weald with which even a verbal connexion can be traced; and if we imagine our Printer to have descended from this ancient line, it will at least bear out Bagford's random assertion, that "Caxton's family was of great repute of old, and genteel-like."

Notes and Queries. Jan. 3, 1852.
Mercers' Records.
Hasted's History of Kent, 1782, vol. II, page 317.
Bagford's MSS. in the Harleian, No. 5910.

When was Caxton born? To this question there is a more satisfactory answer, as we know the year of his apprenticeship, which, although till now overlooked, has fortunately been preserved in the records of the Mercers' Company. It has generally been assumed from the unqualified statement of Dr. Kippis, and later biographers, that 1412 was the date of his birth, the sole ground for the assertion being the complaint of Caxton himself in 1471 that he was growing old and weak. From this the inference is drawn that he must then have seen at least sixty years. That 1412 however is a date much too early is proved by the following extract from the earliest volume of "Wardens' Accounts" in the Archives of the Mercers' Company. It occurs in a list of fees for the binding and enrolment of apprentices "pur lan deūnt passe cest assauoir des Fest de Saynt John Bap^{te} lan xvj du Roy Henr sisme," that is, "for the year just passed namely at the Feast of St. John Baptist the 16th year of King Henry VI." (June 24, 1438.)

Biog. Brit. Edit. 1784, vol. III, page 351.
Mercers' Records. Auth. A 11.

Entres des Appñtices.

Itꝰ John large, ⎫ les appñtices de
Itꝰ Willm̃ Caxston, ⎭ Robert Large   iiij s

A.D. 1438.

We here arrive at the interesting fact, that in 1438 Caxton was apprenticed to Robert Large. It is the first genuine date in his life with which we are acquainted, and furnishes us with a standing point from which can be reckoned, with some degree of assurance, the date of his birth.

Pulling's Laws and Customs of London, 8vo. 1842, page 61.

Large's Will and City Records. Liber K, passim.

Bruges Records. Auth. F.

The age of twenty-one has always been considered as the period when a man arrives at his *legal* majority; but in the 15th Century there was also what may be termed the *civic* majority, which did not occur till three years later. At that time no man could become a freeman, and engage in trade on his own account, till he had attained the age of twenty-four. This custom was continued so late as the 17th Century; for in 1693 an Act of Common Council is recorded enforcing upon the Chamberlain the necessity of ascertaining that every claimant, before admission to the Freedom of the City, had "reached the full age of twenty-four." It was with reference to this that the phrase "quousqȝ ad etatem suam xxiiij^{or} annor' puenerit," is so commonly found in old wills; and in view of this the indenture of an apprentice was always so drawn that on the commencement of his twenty-fifth year he might *issue* from his apprenticeship. This necessarily caused a considerable variation in the length of servitude, which ranged according to the age of the youth, from seven years, the shortest term, to fourteen years.* The mean, or ten years, appears to have been the term most common in the 15th Century. Reckoning his servitude at seven years only, Caxton could not have been more than seventeen years of age when apprenticed, and *must* therefore have been born after the year 1421: that he was not much younger is evident from his position at Bruges only eleven years after he "entered" his apprenticeship, when he was considered as good surety for a sum equal to £1000 of the present day; so that, if we assume 1422-3 as the date of his birth, we cannot be far wrong.

Prologue to "Charles the Great."

Caxton tells us that previously to his apprenticeship he had been to school in Kent, but as no other particulars of his early history are known, we will pass at once to the year 1438, and imagine him, fresh from the Weald, already established in the household of Robert Large, and duly invested

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* Fourteen years is the longest term I have noticed in the City Records (Lib. Dunthorne fol. 398*b*,) and an apprenticeship for so long a period appears to have been uncommon, as the youth in that case could not have been more than ten years of age on his *entry*. The periods for which three of Large's apprentices were bound are noted among the *entries* and *issues* in the Mercers' books, as follows—

Thomas Staunton entered ...	1422-3...	and issued	1434-5,	being a term of	12 years.
Randolphe Streete entered...	1427-8...	"	1437-8,	"	10 "
Ric. Bonefaunt entered	1430-1...	"	1441-2,	"	11 "

A.D. 1438.

with all the rights and privileges of a London apprentice. When we consider how many of these apprentices were young men nearly twenty-four years of age, we can easily believe that very strict rules were required to keep them within bounds, and that when they did break loose it was sometimes beyond the power of all the City authorities combined to restrain them. The Evil May Day, as it was called, in 1517, when the apprentices rose against all foreigners, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Mayor and Aldermen, ravaged the City, burning houses and killing many persons, is recorded by all the old chroniclers: it was long remembered by the masters with fear, and by the apprentices with pride; although twelve of the latter ignominiously perished by the hands of the hangman, upon the quelling of the riot by the King's troops.

Strype's Stow, London, 1754, vol. II, page 436.

The master's duties to his apprentice were to feed him, clothe him, and teach him well and truly his art and craft. On failing to fulfil these duties, the apprentice could, on complaint, and proof shown before the Court of Aldermen, have his indentures cancelled, or be turned over to another master. On the other side, the apprentice took oath to serve his master well and truly, to keep all his secrets, to use no traffic on his own account, and to obey all his lawful commands.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 1.

Robert Large, Caxton's master, was one of the richest and most influential merchants in the City. He was a Mercer, and the son of a Mercer, and according to Stow, was born in the City of London. In 1430 he filled the office of Sheriff, and in 1439-40 was elected Mayor. The Mercers' Company was then, as it is now, the oldest chartered Company in existence. Its members comprised the merchants of highest standing in the City. It paid more money to the King's revenue, sent to a "Riding" more well-mounted men, spent larger sums on its "liveries," and yielded from its ranks more Sheriffs and Mayors than any two of the City Companies besides. Of this Company Large was elected Warden (or, as the old Clerk writes it "Gardein,") in 1427, and appears to have made himself very popular, if we may judge from the unusual expenditure at his "chivacherie" when he succeeded to the Mayoralty. The Mercers on that occasion rode before their Mayor in new liveries, preceded by sixteen silver trumpets made for the occasion. The few absentee Liverymen were fined heavily.

Strype's Stow, vol. II, page 221.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 5.

Auth. A 12.

The house in which Large resided no doubt presented a great contrast to Caxton's home in the Weald. It stood at the north end of the Old Jewry and appears to have been a very ancient and extensive mansion.

A.D. 1441.

Stow gives a curious account of its vicissitudes, and sums up its history thus,—"sometime a Jews' synagogue, since a house of Friars, then a Nobleman's house, after that a Merchant's house, wherein Mayoralties have been kept, but now a wine tavern." Large lived there till his death.

Large's Will. Auth. D 1 & 2.

The household of which Caxton had become a member consisted, at least, of eighteen persons, not including menials—Robert Large, and his second wife Johanna; four sons, Robert, Thomas, Richard, and John, all under age (24 years), the last, as above shown, being bound apprentice at the same time as Caxton; two daughters, Alice, and Elizabeth, both under age (21 years); two "servants," or men who had served their apprenticeship, and eight apprentices. Large did not live long after his Mayoralty. His will is dated April 11th, 1441, and he died on the 24th of the same month. He was buried in St. Olave's, Old Jewry, in the same grave as his first wife Elizabeth,* and the monument over their bodies existed in Stow's time.† A copy of Large's Will, unfortunately imperfect at the end, has been preserved in the Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons. From this we learn, that he owned the Manor of Horham, in Essex, of which County he was probably a native, as he left various sums to the Parish Churches of Shakeston, Aldestre, and Overton, where some of his relatives were buried. It would have been interesting to find that Large had been connected with Kent, Caxton's county, but although no trace can be discovered of this, it is curious that two of his apprentices should have Kentish names, Caxton, as we have already seen, being only another form of Causton, a Manor near Hadlow, and the Hundred of Strete being represented by Caxton's fellow-apprentice Randolph Streete. His bequests to his parish Church of St. Olave, Old Jewry, and for religious purposes generally, were extensive. He also left considerable sums for the completion of a new aqueduct then in course of construction—for the repairs of London Bridge—for cleansing the watercourse of Walbrook—for marriage-portions of poor girls—for relief of domestic servants—and for various hospitals of London, among which may be noticed "Bedleem," Bishopsgate-without; St. Thomas of Southwark; and the Leper-houses at "Hakeney les lokes."

Strype's Stow, vol. I, page 571.

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* Her Maiden name was Staunton, and to her brother Thomas Staunton was left the Guardianship of Large's son Robert.

† "Here (St. Olave's, Old Jewry) on a plated stone, on the ground in the South isle, 'Hic requiescat in Gratia et misericordia Dei, ROBERTUS LARGE, quondam Mercerus et Maior istius civitatis. Qui obiit 24 die April 1441. Et ELIZABETH Uxor ejus, ac pueri eorundem, Cujus, &c.'"

A.D. 1441.

Among the many bequests in Large's Will, the following may be found worthy of notice, as showing the names and approximate ages of Caxton's fellow apprentices, of whom he, both by the order in which Large mentions him, and by the dates in the Mercers' books, appears to have been the youngest.

Richard Bonyfaunt	(issued 1440)	50 marks.
Henry Okmanton	(entered 1434)	50 pounds.
Robert Dedes	( )	20 marks.
Christopher Heton*	(issued 1443)	20 pounds.
William Caxton	(entered 1437)	20 marks.

Besides the above there were—Randolph Streete, who issued in the same year as Caxton was bound; Thomas Neche, who issued in 1440; and John Harrowe, who issued in 1443. These are all entered as "appñtices de Rob$^{t.}$ Large," in the Mercers' books.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 10, 13, & 14.

And here, before proceeding with the account of Caxton, we may briefly state what is known of the subsequent history of the family in which he lived. Mrs. Large (whose son Richard Turnat by her first husband is mentioned in the Will of Large) was now again left a widow. This, her second bereavement, appears for a time to have affected her most deeply. In open church, probably over the body of her husband, she went through the solemn ceremony of vowing to devote the remainder of her days to charity and chastity. This humour was, however, of rather short duration, as in about three years she was married, for the third time, according to the following quaint and curious entry from Stow's First Edition. Talking of John Godnay, Draper and Mayor in 1427, he says, "This *Godnay* in the year 1444 . wedded the widdow of *Robert Large* late Maior, which widdow had taken the Mantell and ring, and the vow to liue chast to God tearme of her life, for the breach whereof, the marriage done, they were troubled by the Church, and put to penance, both he and she."

A Survay of London, 4to. 1598, fol. 187.

All the children mentioned by Large in his Will were by Elizabeth, his first wife. Robert and Thomas did not long survive their father; John died soon after his apprenticeship, which occurred as we have seen at the same time as Caxton's, and his name therefore does not occur at all in Large's Will; accordingly we find Richard the sole survivor succeeding, as was his father's wish, to all the property devised to his two elder brothers, and his claims allowed on his "attaining his age of 24 years" by

City Records. Liber K, fol. 208.

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* Called Christopher only in Large's Will, the Surname being taken from the Mercers' books.

A.D. 1438-41.

City Records. Liber K, fol. 228.

the Court of Aldermen in the year 1444. Of the daughters, Alice does not appear as having claimed her patrimony on arriving at maturity, she therefore in all probability died previously; but Elizabeth married soon after her father's death, and her husband Thomas Eyre, son of the Lord Mayor, received her dowry in 1446.

Harl. MSS. No. 565, fol. 92*b*.

Policronicon. Liber ult. Cap. 21.

Cotton MSS. Cleop. C. IV. fol. 58.

Harl. MSS. 565, fol. 93*b*.

Policronicon. Liber ult. Cap. 21.

The three years which Caxton passed as apprentice with Large were very eventful, and, as it was during this term that he must have received his most vivid impressions of life, it may not be amiss to take a rapid glance at a few of those events which chiefly stirred the minds of the people. He no doubt was witness of the great jousts in Smithfield in 1438, which lasted three weeks, and are so graphically described in Lansd. MSS. No. 285, and his intense love for knightly sports may have been there first developed. But though sights of knights at tournays were to be seen for nothing, common bread was very dear, and many deaths from starvation occurred in the same year. An old chronicle says "Men ate rye bread and barly, and bred mad of benes, peses, and fetches: and wel were hym that myȝte haue ynowe therof." In the additions made by Caxton himself to "Policronicon," he is more than usually minute in his record of the events which occurred during the period of his apprenticeship. Speaking of this year, he recounts that, "Corne was soo skarce that in some places poure peple made hem brede of fern rotes."* In 1439 Large was elected Mayor, and doubtless at his "riding" to Westminster and back, all his apprentices assisted to swell the shout in honor of their master; but a sad spectacle was seen that same year on Tower Hill, when Sir Richard Wyche, Vicar of Deptford, was burnt at the stake for Lollardism. His love and charity had much endeared him to the poor, and an old Chronicler, at the end of his account of this martyrdom, adds "for the which Sir Richard was made grete *mone* among the comyn peple." On the night of this event all the watches of the City were doubled, and great fears entertained of a general rising. The impression it made on the mind of Caxton may be gathered from his own relation; "This yere Syr Rychard wiche, vycary of hermettesworth, was degrated of his prysthode/ at powlys/ and brente at toure hylle as for an heretyk on saynt Botolphus day/ *how wel at his deth/ he deyde a good cristen man* wherefore after his dethe moche people cam to the place/ where he hadde be brente/ and offryd and made a heepe of stones/ and sette vp a crosse of tree and helde hym for a saynt till the mayer and shreues by commaundement of the

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* Probably the Rhizome of Pteris Aquilina.

A.D. 1440-1.

kynge and bisshops destroyed it/ and made there a donghill." Another grievous event in the following year, 1440, appears to have excited the compassion of our young apprentice. On three alternate days Eleanor Chobham, the beautiful wife of Duke Humphrey, was landed on the banks of the Thames, in a white sheet, holding a taper, and, accompanied by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Crafts of the City, walked to Paul's barefooted over the stones, as a penance for her presumed sorceries with the witch of Eye:* Caxton has recounted this at unusual length. There were great tournays again this year in the Tower, and a desperate fight between the Citizens and a body of the Courtiers, for which the former, although first attacked, were heavily fined by the King. An old Chronicler describes the fray as "a great debate by the night time, where through shots of bows there were many hurt foul and slain." But the chief event of this period, as an important element in Caxton's destiny, was the conclusion of a three years' peace between England and Flanders. This, with the

Policronicon, Liber ult. cap. 22.

Cotton MSS. Vitel. A, XVI, fol. 103.

Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, 4to. London, 1805, vol. I, page 657.

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* The reader will probably feel interested in the following account of this instance of political revenge. It is extracted from one of the Cotton MSS. Anno 1440. "In this year the Duchess of Gloucester was arrested and put in hold, for she was suspect of treason, and a clerk belonging to her which was called Roger, which was taken for sorcery against the King, and he was put in the Tower of London, and afterwards he was brought to Paul's, and there he stood up on high on a scaffold against Paul's Cross, on a Sunday, and there he was arrayed in his garments, and there was hanged round about him all his instruments which were taken with him, and so shewed all the people. And after he was brought tofore the Lords, and there he was examined, and after brought into the Guildhall (yeld hall), and there he was arraigned before the Lords of the King's Counsel and before all the Judges of this land, and anon after, the lady of Gloucester aforesaid was made appear three sundry days before the King and all his Lords spiritual and temporal, and there she was examined of divers points of witchcraft, of the which she acknowledged she had used through the counsel of the witch of Eye, the which witch was brent on the even of Simon and Jude in Smithfield. In this time the lady of Gloucester had confessed her witchcraft as is aforesaid, she was enjoined by all the Spiritual assent to penance to come to London from Westminster on the Monday next ensuing, and landed at the Temple bridge out of her barge, and there she took a taper of wax of two pounds in her hand, and went so thro' Fleet Street on her feet and hoodless unto Pauls, and there she offered up her taper at the high altar; and on the Wednesday next ensuing she came from Westminster by barge unto the Swan in Thames Street (Temp'se strete), and there she landed and went forth on her feet through Bridge Street, Gracechurch Street, to the Leadenhall, and so to Christchurch in the wise aforesaid (thorow Briggestrete Grischirch strete to the ledyn hall and so to Crichirch in the wise afornseyd). And on Friday she landed at Queenhithe, and so forth she went into Cheap, and so to Saint Michael in Cornhill, in the form aforesaid. And at each of the times the Mayor and Sheriffs and the Crafts of London were ready at the places where she should land. And after Roger the clerk aforesaid on the same day, that is to say the 18th day November, was brought to the Guildhall, with Sir John Home, priest and William Woodman, Squire, the which Sir John was damned, and the same day was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged, headed and quartered, and the head set on London bridge, and his one quarter at Hertford, another at Oxford another at York, and the fourth at Cambridge. And the lady put in prison and after sent to the Isle of Man, there to abide while that she lived."

Cotton MSS. Cleop. C. IV, fol. 58 *b*.

A.D. 1441.

Macpherson's Annals, &c. page 659.

termination of the war which had raged furiously between Holland and Zealand and Hamburgh, was probably a material cause in determining Caxton's departure from England.

Of the exact duties devolving upon Caxton in his apprenticeship we have no knowledge, but as an assistant to Large, who had extensive connections, and was doubtless in frequent correspondence, with Bruges, then the great centre of English traffic abroad, he must have obtained considerable insight into the ways of Foreign trade, and perhaps become personally known to many Flemish Merchants. We must not forget that at the death of his master, Caxton was not free from his indentures. If he wished to continue his course as a trader, whether in England or abroad, he was obliged to serve out his time, and that he did so, we gather from his admission to the livery of the Mercers' Company in after years. The Executors were bound to provide the apprentices of the deceased with a new home, and it would seem that the original master might name a new master in his Will or assign the apprentice of his own accord during his life without making the apprentice himself a party to the assignment. As far as we know Large made no arrangement of this kind, and it appears probable that the usual course of the Executors providing a new master for the bereaved apprentice was adopted in Caxton's case. It was not uncommon for young men in his position to be sent to some great Mart Town abroad to obtain experience in trade. Wheeler says, "The Merchants Adventurers sende their yong men, sonnes, and servantes or apprentices, who for the most parte are Gentlemens sonnes, to the Marte Townes beyonde the seas, there to learne good facions and knowledge in trade." Whether Caxton left England by his own desire, or at the instance of his new master, is quite unknown, but that he took up his abode in the Low Countries, and probably at Bruges, in the same year that his first master died, 1441, we gather from his own words in the Prologue to the Recuyell, where he states in 1471 that he had been abroad thirty years. It is improbable that he carried with him more than the twenty marks (£150 to £160 of our money) bequeathed him by Robert Large.

Pulling's Laws, &c., page 482.

A Treatise of Commerce by Iohn Wheeler, Secretarie to the Societie of Merchantes Adventurers, 4to. Middlebvrgh, 1601, p. 29.

The City of Bruges had long been not only the seat of Government for the Dukes of Burgundy but the metropolis of trade for all the neighbouring countries. Thither resorted merchants from all parts of Europe, who were certain to find there the best mart for their wares. English traders especially abounded, having been greatly favoured by Philip le Bon, who had almost from a child been brought up in the Court of England, and

A Treatise of Commerce, &c. page 33.

A.D. 1446-50.

who in 1446 gave great privileges to the *Merchant Adventurers* under the name of *The English Nation*, by which title they were ever after most commonly known. So greatly were the Duke's dominions indebted to the trade in wool and cloth with England, that Philip le Bon, when instituting in 1429 a new Order of Knighthood, adopted for its title and badge the "Golden Fleece."

Origin of Commerce, by A. Anderson, 4to. London, 1787, vol. I, page 449.

About 1446 Caxton issued out of his apprenticeship, and became a freeman of the Company, though as this happened abroad, no notice of it occurs in the Company's books. It would appear that he immediately entered into business on his own account, and that he prospered, for in 1450 we find him in Bruges, and so far successful as to be thought sufficient security for the sum of £110 sterling (more than equal to £1000 now). This appears from the following curious law proceedings preserved in the archives of the City of Bruges. In the year 1450 William Craes, an English merchant, sued in the Town Hall of Bruges, before the Burgomasters, Merchants, and Councillors of the City, John Selle and William Caxton, both English Merchants, for a sum of money. William Craes deposed that John Granton, of the Staple at Calais, was indebted to him in the sum of £110 sterling, for which the said John Selle and William Caxton had become sureties. That the said John Granton having departed from the City without payment made, he (Craes) had caused his sureties to be arrested for the amount. The defendants admitted that they were the sureties for John Granton, but pleaded that as Granton was very rich, complainant should look to him for payment. Judgement was given by Roeland de Vos and Guerard le Groote, the Adjudicators, for the complainant, the defendants to give security for the sum demanded. If, however, John Granton on his return to Bruges should prove payment previously to his departure, complainant to pay double the sum claimed.

Bruges Records. Auth. F.

At this period (1450), we find by their books, that the Mercers were engaged in a considerable trade with the Low Countries, which, however, was shortly to receive a check by the edict of the Duke of Burgundy prohibiting the importation of all English cloths. The item in the Mercers' accounts—"To Richard Burgh for bearing of a letter over the sea, 6s 8d,"*—probably has reference to this.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 15.

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* From the small sum paid to Burgh, in comparison with several similar entries, it may be inferred that he was not a special messenger, but that having to go to Bruges on his own account, he took charge of the letter.

A.D. 1453.

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 17.

The date when Caxton was admitted to the Freedom of his Company does not appear; it was doubtless shortly after he had issued from his apprenticeship. It must have occurred before 1453, as in that year he made a journey to London, accompanied by Richaert Burgh and Esmond Redeknape, when all three were admitted to the Livery of the Mercers' Company, a privilege to which the admission to the freedom was a necessary step. It may be inferred that, like Caxton, Burgh and Redeknape were English traders settled at Bruges; Redeknape was probably a relative of the W. Redeknape of London, who appears farther on as a Merchant trading with Bruges; while the spelling of Burgh's Christian name, Rich*aert*, is quite Flemish, and we have already noticed him as the bearer of a letter to the same city. We may remark also that the usual fees on their taking up the livery seem to have been remitted, as the whole passage in the volume of accounts is erased by the pen. The same year the Mercers' accounts show charges for sending two letters to the Duchess of Burgundy.

Auth. B 7.

Auth. A 18.

This year (1453) Geoffrey Felding, Mercer, was Mayor, and the names of William Caxton, Ric. Burgh, Thos. Bryce, and William Pratt appear, charged with fines to the amount of 3s 4d each for not attending his riding (qils fautent de chiuachier ouesque le mair.)

As an English Merchant, in Bruges, Caxton would necessarily be subject to the laws and regulations of the Chartered Company called the MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, whose Governor had control over all English and Scotch traders in those parts.

All Foreign trade at this period appears to have been carried on by means of Trading Guilds. These Associations, which occupy so prominent a position in the early history of European commerce, had in most cities a common place of residence,* and were governed by laws and Charters granted on one side by the Government of their own country, and on the other by the Government of the country in which they had settled themselves. They appear to have originated in a common necessity. The trader in a Foreign country was always an object of suspicion to the inhabitants, and often found himself restricted

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* As an example in London we need only mention the Esterlings, often called the Hanse Merchants, who inhabited the Steel Yard, and for centuries carried on a flourishing trade. An excellent monograph on this Association has been published, entitled "Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London, von J. M. Lapenberg, Dr." Quarto. Hamburg, 1851. It is much to be regretted that the similar Association of *Merchant Adventurers*, which contributed so greatly to the mercantile prosperity of this country, should still remain without an historian.

A.D. 1453-62.

by its laws as to the articles he should buy or sell, and in the prices he should give and receive. These laws being frequently unjust and subversive of all legitimate trade, besides being often strained to the great injury of individuals, it was found expedient for all traders in Foreign lands to unite, and by combined action to gain that respect for their rights which the individual could not obtain. Hence arose the Association of *Merchant Adventurers*, which consisted of English Merchants, who ventured their goods in Foreign markets. The Mercers, whose Foreign trade exceeded that of all other Companies, seem to have originated the Association in the 13th Century, under the name of the Guild or Fraternity of St. Thomas-à-Becket, and to have retained the principal management of its affairs till their disconnection in the 16th Century. Thus we find that although Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, and several other Trade Companies yielded their quota of members, and added their influence when support was needed, yet the Mercers were the most important section, the meetings of the Association at their head-quarters in London were held in Mercers' Hall, and their transactions entered in the same Minute Book as those of the Mercers' Company itself until 1526, when they became entirely independent, although the last link between the two Companies was not severed till the Fire of London destroyed the office which the Merchant Adventurers held of the Mercers under their Hall. In connexion with the Adventurers several Charters were granted by our Kings to their subjects in divers parts of Europe for their internal government. In 1407 Henry IV granted powers to the English Merchants in Holland, Flanders, Prussia, and other States, to assemble and elect Governors, with power to rule all English Merchants thither repairing, and to make reasonable ordinances, &c. In 1444 these powers were renewed by Henry VI. On the accession of the house of York, the Mercers consulted the Recorder and "Rigby" respecting their Corporation; and by the Statute, 1 Ed. IV, c. i., passed for confirming the titles of those who held under grants of any of the three preceding Kings, (therein described as "in fact and not in right" Kings of England) all grants to the Wardens of the Mercers were specially confirmed. The Merchant Adventurers now obtained a larger Charter from Edward IV, which Hakluyt styles "The Merchant Adventurers' Patent," for the better government of the English Merchants residing in Brabant, Flanders, &c., and William Obray was appointed under it as "Governor of the English Merchants" at Bruges. Its date is April 16th, 1462.

A Treatise of Commerce, &c. page 8.

Mercers' Records.
Palmer's Annals.

Rymer's Fœdera, folio, London, 1727, vol. VIII, page 464.

Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation, folio, London, 1598, vol. I, p. 208.
Auth. H.

A.D. 1462-3.

Mercers' Records. Auth. B 2.

Whether Obray died about this time is not known, but he does not seem to have acted long in his new capacity; for between June 24th, 1462, and June 24th, 1463, we find by the Mercers' books that William Caxton was performing the official duties of Governor, and in correspondence not only with the Wardens of the Mercers' Company, but also with the Lord Chancellor, writing to both about the best method of regulating the buying of ware at Bruges. The expense incurred by the Wardens for boat hire in delivering to the Lord Chancellor Caxton's letter is duly entered in the "Forein expenses." When Caxton's name next appears there is no doubt of his position, as he is addressed by the title of "Governor." The occasion was as follows:—It was one of the duties of the Governor at Bruges by his "correctors" to see that all goods exported to England were of just weight and measure; but on 16th August, 1464, at a Court of Adventurers, W. Redeknape, W. Hende, and John Sutton complain that they had received both cloth and lawn deficient in breadth as well as length; whereupon it was decided that a letter should be dispatched to "WILLIAM CAXTON, *Governour beyond the Sea*, for reformation of the same." This was done by a special courier, who received 28s 6d for his journey.

Auth. A 19.

Auth. B 3.

Auth. A. 21.

Having established Caxton at the City of Bruges, in the important position of Governor of the English Nation in the Low Countries, it may be as well to take a short survey of what his duties and emoluments were at this period. These we find expressly laid down in the Charter already noticed, granted only two years previously in 1462. The Governor had full power to govern by himself or deputies all merchants and mariners; to make such minor regulations for the conduct of trade (not contrary to the International Treaties) as seemed to him fit; to decide all quarrels; and to pass sentences in a court composed of himself as Governor and twelve Justicers to counsel and advise him; six Sergeants being allowed "to do the executions and arrests of the said court." The Justicers to be chosen by the "common merchants and mariners," subject to the approval of the Governor. He was to appoint at pleasure correctors and brokers to witness all bargains; folders and packers to make up the packs of the merchants, (who were not allowed to pack their own goods, lest any prohibited articles should be included) and to be present at the unpacking of newly-arrived goods. No parcel to leave the City without first being sealed. The officers were paid by a fee on packing or unpacking every pack. The Governor was paid at the rate of 2d a pack on every pack

Hakluyt, &c. Auth. H.

A.D. 1463.

sealed for exportation, and 1d for every bargain witnessed by his deputies, besides several smaller levies which are not mentioned in the Charter, except by the term "accustomed dues." From all this it will be seen that the Governor was a sort of King over his countrymen, with almost unlimited authority. His duties must also at times have been very onerous, devolving much responsibility upon him, and requiring talents of no mean order. To him would be made all communications from the Government under which they lived, and to his diplomatic powers and influence would be owing to a large extent the comfort or discomfort of all the English residents.

By the Charter, W. Obray appears to have been the nominee of the King himself, but this was only in form, as the custom seems to have been for the Court of the Adventurers to recommend "a fit person" to the King, who thereupon appointed him. In whose hands the executive power really resided the following example will show:—the name of John Pykering appears in the Mercers' books as the successor of Caxton in the office of "Governor of the English Nation." This Pykering, who was a Mercer of renown, having spoken against the Wardens of his Company, was summoned before an Assembly of the "Adventurers of the different Fellowships" in London. There disdaining to "stond bare hed," and speaking "alle hawty and roiall," he was by the advice of the Court of the Mercers discharged from his office of Governor, and heavily fined. Shortly after, he appears to have repented his boldness, as we find him in the humble position of asking pardon on his knees in a full Court. Nothing could more strongly prove the power exercised by the Mercers' Company, who, in fact, were mainly instrumental in obtaining the new Charter for the Adventurers, or, as they are often termed "the felawship by yonde the See," for in the year following the granting of their new patents they are charged for the same by the Mercers' Company £47 0s 10d.

Mercers' Records. Palmer's Annals.

Auth. A 20.

The "English Nation," as we have already remarked, was a very important body at Bruges, and like the Esterlings, the Florentines, and other Merchants, had their own "House." This house was existing in its original state when Sanderus, who calls it "Prætorium peramplum" wrote his "Flandria Illustrata." From this work, which contains numerous illustrations of the ancient buildings and streets of Bruges, including the residences of the various Guilds, we present the reader with an engraving of the Domus Angliæ, occupied by the Merchant

Antonii Sanderi Flandria Illustrata, folio, 1641, vol. I, page 275.

A.D. 1465.

Ames's Typographical Antiquities, by T. F. Dibdin, 4to. 1810, vol. I, page lxxviii.

Adventurers, (Plate I); and have extracted a portion of the account illustrative thereof.* Here there seems every reason to believe that William Caxton, as "Governor," resided for many years.

Auth. B 4.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, 536.

Auth. M.

Mercers' Records. Auth. B 4.

Auth. B 4.

On Caxton's entering upon his duties as Governor, he acted under the articles of a Treaty of Trade between the two countries, which for many years had been in force, but which would terminate November 1st, 1465. It was highly necessary that a renewal of this treaty should be made before that period, and accordingly we find that the King issued a commission, dated 24th October, 1464, in which he showed great wisdom by joining in one embassy a clever Statesman and a successful Merchant. These were Sir Richard Whitehill, Knight, who had been already employed in several important embassies, and our William Caxton, who, as the chief Englishman in Bruges, and acquainted with all existing trade matters, was "a most fit person." They were, however, unsuccessful, (for what reason does not appear) and on October 1st, 1465, the treaty was still unrenewed, as "a convencion of lordes" was fixed to meet at St. Omers on that day to consider the matter. This convention, did not at all improve affairs, for on the 14th of the same month the Wardens of the Mercers' Company wrote a long letter to Caxton informing him—that "the convention holdeth not;"—that the King, taking into consideration the near approach of the term of the existing treaty, had written to the Mayor of London requesting him "to provide a person" to go over to the Duke of Burgundy about "the prorogation of the intercourse;"—that the Wardens of the Mercers with the Wardens of diverse Fellowships, Adventurers, considering that hitherto in similar cases the King, "with the advice of his Council, had made provision in that behalf," and that it was not their part to take upon themselves a matter of such great weight, had urged the Mayor to write a letter to the King in the most pleasant wise that he could, beseeching him "to provide for this matter;"—that considering the near approach of the term of the treaty and the uncertainty of any speedy action by the King, Caxton had better consult with his fellow merchants at Bruges in as "goodly haste" as possible as to the best means of

Flandria Illustrata, vol. I, page 275.

* "*Domus Anglorum, Brugæ.* Angli hic peramplum habent Prætorium, cujus Iconem hic adjecimus. Quemadmodum et Scoti aliæque nationes, quas recensere longum esset. Quæ omnia veteris magnificentiæ & splendoris Brugensium certa sunt argumenta. Hæc nationum quoad Mercatum, & cum illo rerum omnium abundantiam & ubertatem; illa præsulum & magnatum quæ non impari ratione, frequentes hic olim fuisse Flandriæ Principes, & Principum Asseclas, Proceres, ac Senatores, ipsumque adeò cum amplissima potestate Flandriæ Cancellarium, qui D. Donationi præpositus erat, testantur."

PLATE I.

Facsimile.

DOMUS ANGLORUM.

The House in which Caxton lived while at Bruges.

City
Arms,
1440.

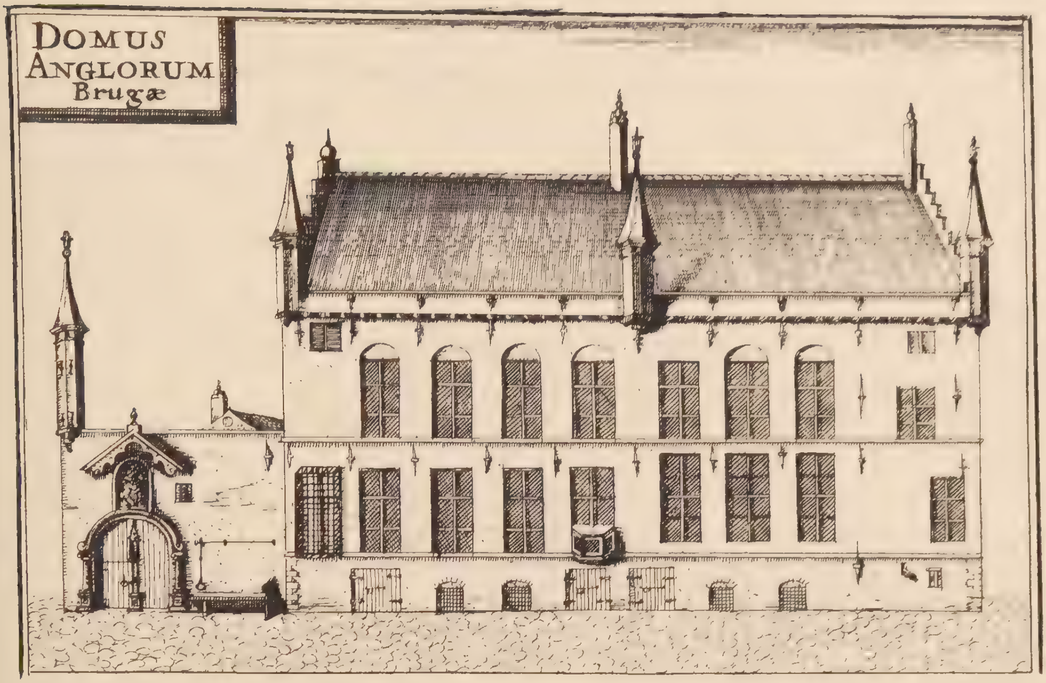
Facsimile.

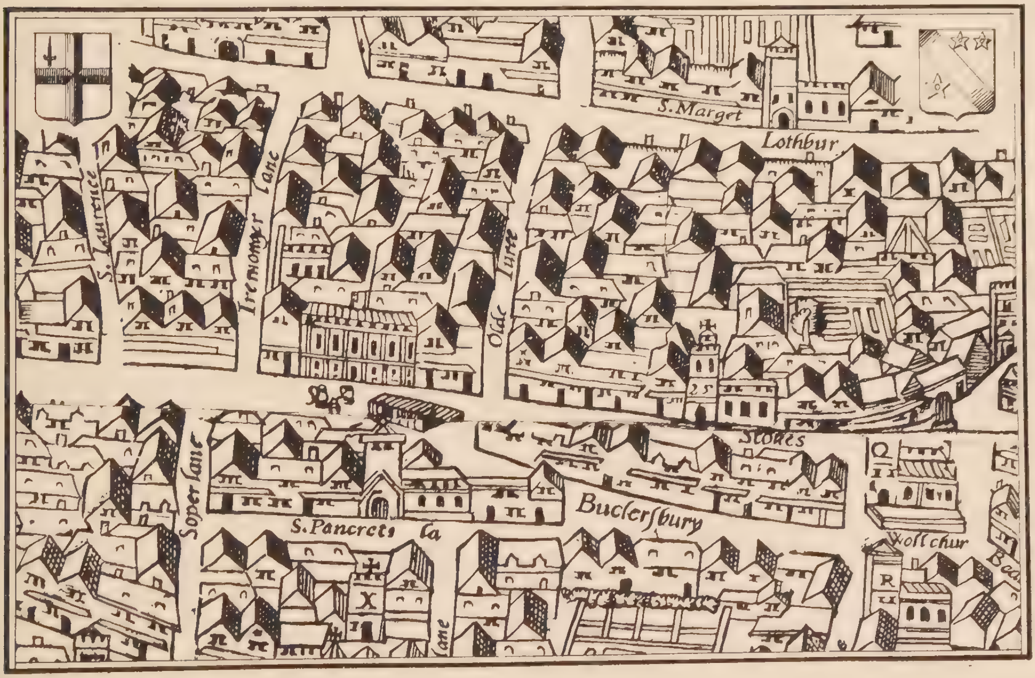
Large's
Arms,
1440.

From Aggas's Map in the Guildhall Library.

THE OLD JEWRY.

Where Caxton passed the first years of his apprenticeship.


DOMUS
ANGLORUM
Brugæ


S.Marget
Lothbur
S.Laurence
Iremonger lane
Olde Iurie
25
Stokes
Soper lane
S.Pancrets la
Buclerſbury
Q
Woll chur
Bea
X
lane
R

protecting their goods and persons until such time as the treaty might be renewed. The letter was signed by the four Wardens and addressed "a W. Caxton."

This must have been a very anxious year with Caxton, for not only was the treaty unrenewed, but the Duke of Burgundy decreed the exclusion of all English-made cloth from his dominions. This of course induced retaliation, and thereupon by Act of Parliament the importation of all Flemish goods into England was prohibited. Neither the Flemish nor the English Merchants could afford to have their trade paralyzed in that way, so the traffic was carried on by a more circuitous and expensive route, through neighbouring States. The next year the Earl of Warwick (to whom Caxton afterwards dedicated his first edition of the Chess-book), wrote to Caxton, calling upon him to enforce the Act of Parliament forbidding the purchase of wares by English traders in the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. Caxton immediately communicated this to the Mayor and the Wardens of the Mercery at London, in a letter dated 27th May, 1466, at the same time desiring to be informed of what the "lordes intent" was; whether they had received a letter which he had sent viâ St. Omers; and requesting early news of any "ioperdy that shulde fall." The letter arrived in London on 3rd June, when a full court of "Aventerers" was instantly summoned, and, after a debate, it was determined that an immediate answer should be returned. This was accordingly despatched the next day by the hands of Simon Preste, addressed "a Will$^{m.}$ Caxton, Gūnor de la nacꝰ deng$^{s.}$" and signed by the four Wardens. In it Caxton was instructed that the Act of Parliament must be maintained, and the fines enforced in every case of infringement; that, being ignorant themselves of the intention of the Lords, they could give no information on that point; and that as to any threatened jeopardy, it was likely to be known sooner in Bruges than at London. Matters remained in this unsatisfactory state till the death of Philippe le Bon, who was succeeded, June 15th, 1467, by his son Charles le Temeraire.

Macpherson's Annals, &c. page 679.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, page 562.

Mercers' Records. Auth. B 5.

Auth. B 5.

The tide of affairs now turned in favour of England; and in the succeeding year an embassy, greatly affecting Caxton's fortunes, took place: Lord Scales, John Russell, and other Ambassadors, concluded a treaty of marriage between Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and the Princess Margaret, sister of King Edward IV. Lord Scales was in after years, when Earl Rivers, one of Caxton's most liberal patrons; and his translation of "The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers" was the first book, with the date of imprint, which issued from Caxton's Press. John Russell,

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, page 590. Auth. N.

A.D. 1468-9.

Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 8vo. London, 1845-7, vol. I, page 399.

Annales du Société d'Emulation de la Flandres, 8vo. Bruges, 1843-8, 2e Série, tom. II.

who was associated with Lord Scales, appears to have been of the Bedford family. His oration on the admission of the Duke of Burgundy to the Order of the Garter, on February 4th, 1470 (new style), is also one of the earliest works connected with the Press of Caxton.* The marriage was solemnized in Bruges, on June 5th, 1468, with the greatest possible pomp; and long accounts of the splendour of the ceremony, and the accompanying festivities, have been given by the old Chroniclers. Doubtless Caxton, from his position as "Governor," would participate largely in them, and be in close intercourse with the many English Nobles frequenting the Duke's court. It is not improbable that at this period he attracted the notice, and gained the good-will, of the Duchess herself, as he was certainly in her service two years later.

Mercers' Records. Auth. B 6.

Auth. B 7.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, page 605.

Not long after the nuptial feasts came treaties of trade, and the King, by the advice of his counsel, determined to send an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy for the "enlarging of woollen cloth in his dominions." For this purpose he issued a special command to the Mercers' Company that they would present unto him certain persons of their number "to go out in embassage with diverse Ambassadors into Flaunders." The Mercers in Court assembled thereupon nominated William Redeknape, John Pykeryng, and William Caxton. This was on September 9th, 1468, and the three Ambassadors having been approved by the King, the Court of Mercers met again on the 28th of the same month, and voted £40 "out of the Cundith mony" for the costs and charges of Redeknape and Pykeryng in the said embassy. From the omission of Caxton's name in this grant we may presume that he was in the performance of his duties as Governor at Bruges, and therefore did not require any travelling expenses. The Ambassadors were successful, and the intercourse was renewed between the two countries in October of the same year.

The Recuyell, Prol. to Book I.

Although the duties of Caxton's position must necessarily have occupied a great portion of his time, he seems to have found some leisure for those literary pursuits to which he was so much attached. It was in March, 1469,† that he first began to translate the most favourite romance of the age, "Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye." This, he informs us in a Prologue, he undertook to avoid sloth and idleness. The constant use by Caxton of phrases, in which he excuses himself for his translations by urging the duty of eschewing sloth and idleness, would almost lead one to imagine that he was of an indolent nature. The whole of his life, and especially those few last years, when he performed such prodigies of literary labour, give a denial to this. Phrases of this sort were the conventionalities of his age; and nearly every writer in the 14th and 15th Centuries, seems to have considered the avoidance of sloth as the one suitable excuse for bringing forward any literary offspring. In the manuscripts of Caxton's time, these depreciatory prefaces are very common; and in many cases a comparison with the French original will show that these sentiments, although adopted by Caxton, are those of the author, instead of the spontaneous expressions of the translator. This explanation is necessary to prevent too much weight being attached to Caxton's phraseology in the Prologue to "The Histories of Troy," as when he commenced that translation he was still "Governor," an office necessarily entailing a considerable amount of responsibility. But whether Caxton really had at that time "no great charge or occupation," or whether he was too busy to devote the needful time to it, he tells us himself that he proceeded no further than five or six quires. As each quire or section consisted of eight or ten leaves, this would amount to between forty and sixty leaves of manuscript. Here, dissatisfied with the results of his labour, he put them by, as he says, without any intention of completing his translation.

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* An account of this tract is given in Vol. II. of this work, under the head of "Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Johannis Russell," with a short history of this learned ecclesiastic and able politician, who is entirely unnoticed by Whiffin in his "Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell."

Chronology of History, by Sir Harris Nicholas, London, 8vo. 1838, p. 47.

† Caxton says in the Prologue, that it was begun in Bruges on March 1st, 1468; but as the new year in Flanders did not commence till Easter-day, it was really 1469.

The Recuyell, Prologue to Book I.

About two months later, viz., on May 12th, 1469, Caxton appears to have had more "occupation" than he could get through alone; for, although still acting as "Governor," a judgment was delivered in his name, in which he is styled "William Caxton marchant dangleterre maistre et gouverneur des marchans de la nation dangleterre par deca."* The case in dispute being between an Englishman and a Frenchman, they agreed to abide by the arbitration of William Caxton and Thomas Perrot as common friends; but Caxton being obliged to leave Bruges for some cause not mentioned in the document, a full court of Merchants was summoned, and the judgement declared in the names of the Arbitrators. This judgement is dated May 12th, 1469, and is the latest instance, at present discovered, in which Caxton appears in his executive capacity.

Bruges Records. Auth. G.

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* This document was first published by Van Praet in his interesting work "Notice sur Colard Mansion." 8vo. Paris, 1829.

A.D. 1469-71.

Bruges Records. Auth. G 2.

There is yet another notice of Caxton lately discovered in the Archives at Bruges, but whether we can refer it to a period before or after his resignation of office, is uncertain. It is in a document containing a list of persons who, on 13th August, 1469, were considered by the Town Council as of sufficient importance to share in the gifts of the "Vins d'honneur" usually distributed on great public occasions. Caxton received four kans of wine, but whether presented to him as "Governor," or as an official in the service of the Duchess of Burgundy, is unknown. Treaties were certainly in progress, and Ambassadors from England were at Bruges in 1469, and received on June 11th a present of "trois pieces de vin;" but this was two months earlier than the date of Caxton's present.

Auth. G 2.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, page 651.

On February 4th, 1470, an imposing ceremony took place at Ghent, Ambassadors being sent by Edward IV to invest the Duke of Burgundy with the Order of the Garter. Among these was the John Russell, already noticed, who is styled "Docteur en Decret, and Arcediacre de Berksuir." There is no direct evidence to support the supposition that Caxton was present on this occasion. That he was at Ghent, though apparently a year later, is stated in his Prologue to "The Recuyell," and he appears to have been connected with the printing of the Latin oration made by Dr. Russell.

In October of this year (1470), Edward IV, accompanied by many of his nobles, took refuge in the capital of the Duke's dominions, from the machinations of the Earl of Warwick. Here Caxton, whether as "Governor," or as a servant of the Duchess, had an excellent opportunity of assisting his countrymen, who, till the restoration of their King, were in great need. That he did so may be inferred from the courtly favour extended to him in after years.

The Recuyell. Epil. to Book III.

The exact date when the Duchess engaged Caxton in her service, as also the period when he relinquished his Governorship is uncertain. The two facts may have borne the relationship of cause and effect. From Caxton's narrative we gather that about two years after his first essay at translating "The Recuyell," that is, about March, 1471, he was actually in the service of the Duchess, receiving a yearly salary and other benefits, and that at this time he was instructed to continue his literary task. The "dreadful command" of his royal mistress seems to have been obeyed with wonderful alacrity; for although at one time at Ghent, and then at Cologne, the translation was never again intermitted, till on the 19th of September, in the same year, the whole was completed, and

A.D. 1469-71.

probably in the shape of a Three-Volume Manuscript,* offered by Caxton to the Duchess, who handsomely rewarded him for his trouble.

The Recuyell. Epil. to Book III.

The nature of the service rendered by Caxton to the Duchess is very uncertain. He says of himself that he was her servant, receiving a yearly fee, and other good and great benefits. That it was an honourable office admits of no doubt, and that it was one in which Caxton's knowledge and talents as a Merchant would be serviceable seems probable. We must not forget that Princes and Nobles in those days did not consider it inconsistent with their dignity to trade on their own account; this they frequently did under special exemptions from taxes to which the merchant trader had to submit. Edward IV and many of his nobility owned ships of merchandise. In 1475 the Wardens of the Mercers' Company wrote to Antwerp concerning a ship called "The Sterre," belonging to Earl Rivers;† and in 1472 we find a document which seems to throw some light on the nature of the services which a merchant such as Caxton may have rendered to a royal mistress. In that year the English King granted to his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, special privileges and exemptions for her own private trading in English wool. The late Duchess, wife of Philippe le Bon, was also engaged in similar transactions, in which her female attendants were apparently in some degree interested, if we may judge from the following entries in the Mercers' accounts under "Foreign Expenses:"—

Mercers' Records. Auth. A 17.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XI, page 735.

1450.	Paid to John Stubbs for perys [pears] to the Gentlewoman of the Duchess of Burgeyn		vj d
1451.	It̃ Paid to him [Hewe Wyche] for a writ directe to Sandewyche for gownys of the Gentilwomans of the Duchess of Burgeyn	ij s	vj d
1454.	It̃ Pour la copie dune lettre enuoie a la duchesse de Burg^{e}	xij s	
1455.	It̃ a M Gervers pour une lettre & la copie enuoi a la duchess de Burg^{e}	xx s	

Mercers' Records.

In conducting mercantile transactions for the Duchess, Caxton, from his experience, would be a valuable assistant, but whether so employed or not, we have already seen him about this time engaged in an occupation apparently much more to his taste, viz., the translation of a French Romance into English.

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* The *printed* edition was plainly intended to be bound in three separate books, for which purpose some pains were taken to arrange each book in complete sections. In manuscript the bulk would be considerably larger, and therefore the less likely to be issued in one volume.

† The Earl's Coat of Arms had three stars in the field.

A.D. 1469-71.

And here, the question is naturally suggested,—How was it that, holding the high and remunerative position of "Governor of the English Nation, at Bruges," Caxton resigned that post to enter upon duties of a much less ambitious character. There is not the least reference in the Mercers' records to any disagreement between Caxton and the Home authorities, nor had he at this time (1469) embraced the idea of returning to his native country; but we must remember that during a very eventful and anxious period, he had held for some years a position of the gravest responsibility. That the troubles of official life had undermined his health we may assume from his complaint two years later, that age was daily creeping upon him and enfeebling his body. We can easily imagine, therefore, that he would gladly embrace the opportunity of exchanging the cares of office for the easy service of the Duchess of Burgundy, where he could indulge in the congenial pursuit of literature and the "strange meruaylous historyes" in which he so much delighted.

The Recuyell. Epil. to Book III.

We have now arrived at the turning point, typographically considered, of Caxton's life. His "Histories of Troye" was a welcome novelty to his countrymen, who had been accustomed hitherto to hear or read such works only in French, which, notwithstanding the great advance and improvement made in English, still retained its pre-eminence as the language of the Court and of literature. The demand for Caxton's translation soon became greater than his pen could possibly supply, and this appears to have led him to turn his attention to the new art which offered such facilities of multiplying copies. Successful again, his future course was determined, and resulted eventually in his settlement at Westminster.

Here, for a time, we must break the thread of this history; for, as a correct understanding of Caxton's position as a printer depends entirely upon an accurate view of the circumstances, both literary and typographical, by which he was surrounded, the reader's attention is claimed for the ensuing chapters, before he crosses the ocean with our Prototypographer, to set up the first Printing Press which blessed the shores of Britain.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE IN THE 15TH CENTURY.

The Patronage of Literature in France by King John and his Sons; in Flanders by Philip le Hardi and Philip le Bon—Louis de Bruges—The great extension of all Trades connected with Book-making—The Guild of St. John—The bearing of these subjects on the History of Caxton.

A.D. 1400-50.

THE revival of literature in Europe, commencing with the latter part of the 14th Century, its steady growth, and the wonders it developed in the succeeding age, have been dwelt upon by many writers. In no country did this revival show itself more strongly than in France and the Low Countries, where the French Kings and the Princes of their blood were, through all their wars and troubles, for generation after generation, the constant patrons of authors and of all engaged in the production of books.

Van Praet's Catalogue des Livres de l'ancienne Bibliothèque au Louvre, 8vo. Paris, 1836, page vij.

In 1350 King John, who has the credit of founding the Library of the Louvre, ascended the throne of France. No particulars of the library of this Monarch have been preserved, and it was probably of no great extent; but his literary tastes descended to all his four sons, and from the inventories which have reached us of the libraries of these Princes, we obtain very interesting information concerning the number, the description, the illuminations, the bindings, and the market value of the books they contained. Charles, the eldest son, who succeeded his father in 1364, had a strongly-developed taste for everything connected with the Fine Arts. He increased the number of volumes in the Louvre Library to a great extent, so that in the ninth year of his reign, when Gilles Mallet made out a Catalogue, their number amounted to 910, the greater part of which were written on fine vellum, magnificently bound, and enriched with precious stones and gold clasps. This was the library which the Duke of Bedford in 1429, when Regent of France, is supposed to have transported to England. In after years a few of the volumes were taken back again to France; but the famous Library of the Louvre

Van Praet's Cat., &c. page xxj.

A.D. 1400-50.

Mémoire historique sur la Bibliothéque de Bourgogne, Bruxelles, 8vo. 1809, (par M. de Laserna).

Bibliothéque Protypographique, par J. Barrois, Paris, 4to. 1830.

Catalogue d'une partie des Livres composant la Bibliothéque des Ducs de Bourgogne, par G. Peignot, Dijon, 8vo. 1841.

Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothéque des Ducs de Bourgogne, par M. Marchal, Bruxelles, folio, 1842.

La Librairie de Jean Duc de Berry, par Hiver de Beauvoir, Paris, 8vo. 1860.

never recovered its original splendour. Louis Duc d'Anjou was the second son of King John, and shared to a great degree in the love of books and works of art displayed by his elder brother. The third son, Jean, Duc de Berri, formed an extensive library at his Chateau de Bicêtre, near Paris, only inferior to that of the King himself. But of all the brothers, Philippe le Hardi, who soon equalled his eldest brother in power, far surpassed even him in the number and splendour of his literary treasures. King John's second wife was Jane, widow of the Duke of Burgundy, and, on the death of her only son, that dukedom reverted to the King of France, through his wife. On dividing his kingdom among his four sons, King John apportioned this duchy to the youngest, Philippe le Hardi, who, by marrying Margaret, only daughter of Louis, Count of Burgundy and of Flanders, inherited on the death of his father-in-law a large extent of territory. Philippe le Hardi, who has the character of a generous Prince, was well read in the literary lore of his age. To music and the collection of fine books he was passionately addicted, and he spared no expense in the employment of artists to adorn his library, and in the purchase of their most choice productions. Nor did he rest satisfied with the encouragement of artists alone, but gathered round him some of the most learned and able authors of his time, who enriched his stores with new works. This Prince died in 1404, and his son, Jean sans Peur, succeeded him, who, although distracted by continual wars, maintained and even added somewhat to his father's library. Christine de Pise received 100 crowns for two books which she presented to him. But all previous patronage sinks into comparative insignificance before the encouragement given to everything connected with literature by Philippe le Bon, who succeeded Jean in 1419. At Bruges, where he kept his court, he gave continual employment to multitudes of authors, translators, copyists, and painters, who were constantly enriching his library with their best productions, and who did not forget to sing the praises of their generous patron.* In the account of the library of this Duke, given us by M. Barrois, we find enumerated nearly two thousand works, the greater part being magnificent

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* David Aubert, a celebrated writer of the 15th Century, thus describes the Duke in 1457: "Très-renòmmé et très vertueux prince Philippe duc de Bourgogne a dès long-temps accoutumé de journellement faire devant lui lire les anciennes histoires; et pour être garni d'une librairie non pareille à toutes autres il a dès son jeune eaige eu à ses geiges plusieurs translateurs, grands clercs, experts orateurs, historiens et escripvains, et en diverses contrées en gros nombre diligemment labourans; tant que aujourd'hui c'est le prince de la chrestienneté sans réservation aucune, qui est le mieux garni de autentique et riche librairie, come tout se peut pleinement apparoir."—*Barrois* p. iv.

A.D. 1400-50.

vellum folios beautifully illuminated, bound in velvet, satin, or damask, studded with gems, and protected by gold clasps jewelled and chased.*

The taste of successive Rulers spread its influence among their subjects, and Fashion lent its aid in multiplying libraries. Nothing was more acceptable than a beautifully executed manuscript, and the opulent Nobles of the French and Burgundian Courts presented their Sovereigns and their friends with sumptuous books in costly bindings. The records and inventories of this period afford numerous entries of such gifts, frequently with their estimated value.

La Librairie de Jean Duc de Berry, &c.

Among the nobles at the Court of Philippe le Bon none showed greater taste and generosity in the formation of his library than Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse. This nobleman, who had risen by his talents to the highest position under his Sovereign, received in 1470, at his Château of Oostcamp, near Bruges, Edward IV of England, when he took refuge in Flanders from the Lancastrians, and was afterwards rewarded by the King with the title of Earl of Winchester. (Note *d.*) His library was scarcely inferior to that of his Sovereign, and nearly the whole of the manuscripts were the production of Flemish artists at Bruges, or at Ghent. The large size of the volumes, the beauty of the vellum, the elegance of the writing, the number and artistic merit of the illuminations and ornaments, and the luxury displayed in the bindings, which were mostly of coloured velvets, protected by golden bosses, corners, and clasps, are evidences of the deep interest taken by the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse in the formation of his library. On his death it passed to his son, Jean de Bruges, and was soon after added to the collection, already existing at the Château de Blois, belonging to the Kings of France. After this union great pains were taken to obliterate the armorial bearings, devices, and monograms, which showed the former ownership of the volumes. These efforts were but partially successful, and about 100 volumes now among the most prized manuscripts of the Imperial

Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, suivies de la notice des Msc. qui lui ont appartenu, 8vo, Paris, 1831.

Recherches, &c. page 82.

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* The passion for books thus displayed was not confined to France, or the French Princes. In Italy, Germany, England, and other countries, the same taste spread. In this Country Henry VI had a valuable library, many books written and illuminated for him being still among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum. The Duke of Bedford, whose love for literature was probably greatly stimulated while Regent of France, was surpassed by none of his countrymen in his patronage of the fine arts, and the celebrated Missal executed for him still remains as one of the choicest productions of his age. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the Protector of Henry VI, was also greatly attached to his library, and bequeathed many hundreds of volumes to the University of Oxford and to King's College, Cambridge. Many manuscripts are now extant in various libraries in which the autograph "Cest a moy Homfrey," is evidence of their original owner.

A.D. 1400-50.

Library, Paris, still attest, by the arms on the binding, or by internal evidence, that they once belonged to this celebrated man. As the patron of literary men and artists, the name of Louis de Bruges ranks high in the history of his country, and the friendly position he assumed relative to Colard Mansion, in the early career of that unfortunate pioneer of the press, should ever endear his name to bibliographers.

Owing to these causes, the various Artists connected with bookwriting and bookbinding, as well as the trades necessary to them, received great encouragement, while, to ensure speed as well as excellence of workmanship, division of labour was carried out to a great extent. Indeed so important a branch of commerce had the manufacture of books now become, and so numerous were the various classes of craftsmen employed in this way in Bruges, that there sprung up in that City a Guild, apparently very similar to our Trade Companies in London, which in 1454 had a formal charter and privileges granted to it by the Duke.* In the volume of receipts and expenditure of this Guild, beginning with the entrance fees of the original members, which is fortunately still to be seen in a perfect state of preservation in the Town Archives of Bruges, the Company is styled "der ghilde van sinte jan Ewāgʒ," or "The Guild of St. John the Evangelist," who was the patron Saint of Scribes. Van Praet gives some interesting extracts from this volume, from which we learn that the Guild comprised members of both sexes; and their trades being affixed to their names we are enabled to present the following list. From this may be gathered the number of various branches of industry employed at that time in the manufacture of books.

Notice sur Colard Mansion, Libraire et Imprimeur, 8vo, Paris, 1829.

Notice, &c. page 73.

Notice, &c. page 77.

Librariers et bockverkopers (*Booksellers*). Prenter-vercoopers (*Printsellers*).
Vinghette makers (*Painters of Vignettes*). Scilders (*Painters*).
Scrivers et bouc-scrivers (*Scriveners and copyers of books*).
Scoolmeesters (*Schoolmasters*). Scolevrowen (*Schoolmistresses*).
Verlichters (*illuminators*).
Prenters (*Printers, whether from blocks or types*).
Bouc-binders (*Bookbinders*).
Reimmakers (*Curriers*). Drooch-scherrers (*Cloth shearers*).
Parkement makers et fransyn makers (*Parchment and Vellum makers*).
Guispel sniders (*Boss carvers*).
Letter-snyders (*Letter engravers*).
Beelde-makers (*Figure engravers*).

Le Bibliophile Belge, Tome 1$^{\text{er}}$. pp. 76 and 290.

* Other Cities also had similar Corporations. Thus at Antwerp the Society of St. Luke was formed before 1450. Their records still exist, and the members consisted of various trades, similar to those of the Guild of St. John at Bruges. At Brussels was a Guild of Writers called "Les Freres de la plume."

A.D. 1400-50.

The Guild supported their own chapel and chaplain, and had considerable property. Most of the early Printers whose names are now famous in the annals of Flemish Typography were enrolled in this or a similar association.

The object of the foregoing sketch, and its bearing on the subject of these memoirs, will be evident to the reader who recalls to mind that it was while the pursuit of literature in Bruges was most ardent—that it was during the reign of the greatest Bibliophile of the 15th Century, when Bruges teemed with authors, scribes, translators, and illuminators, who resorted from all parts of Europe to Philippe le Bon as to a second Mæcenas—that it was when the bibliographical treasures of Philippe le Hardi, enriched by the numerous additions of his son and grandson—when the libraries of Louis de Bruges and other Nobles of the Court were concentrated in the same City—that it was during this period that our William Caxton was, for the space of at least thirty-three years, a resident in Bruges. As "Governor of the English Nation," through whom all negotiations between the English and the Duke's Government would be carried on, he would necessarily be well acquainted with the courtiers and household officers of the Court, and his services would often be required in obtaining manuscripts for the English Nobles. We know, for instance, that the Lady Margaret, Duchess of Somerset (herself an authoress), purchased from him a copy of the romance of "Blanchardyn and Eglantyn." Access to the libraries at Bruges would be easily procured by Caxton, and that he did not fail to avail himself of these sources of knowledge seems the more probable, as, in after years, we find that, without an exception, the books which he translated for his own Press, may even at this day be traced as manuscripts in the noble libraries then at Bruges. (Note *e*).

See Prologue to "Blanchardyn and Eglantyn."

CHAPTER III.

SCRIBES AND PRINTERS.

On the Resemblance between early printed Books and the Manuscripts of the Age—On the gradual Divergence of Printers from the Usages of the Scribes—On Typographical Developments as indicative of priority of Production—The whole with reference especially to the Bruges and Westminster Presses.

A.D. 1400-1500.

COSTUME, that sure guide of the historian and antiquarian, is perhaps nowhere more discernible than in literature; and that not merely in the dress of language and expression, but also in the visible exponents of that dress—writing and printing. Thus, whilst such a long stomacher is undoubtedly Elizabethan, or such a ruff of the time of James II, such a manuscript, and such a printed book may, by its writing or printing alone, be ascribed to a determinate era. In other words, a careful investigation of constructive fashion will, in most cases, enable us to determine the approximate age of every book, from the early manuscript to the machine-printed volume of the present day. In tracing the first development of printing, we are able to note those successive deviations from the form of its parent, Caligraphy, which were necessary to the peculiarities of the new art. Commencing simply as a substitute for manuscript labour, it was instinctively an accurate imitation thereof; and hence printers suffered at first under many inconveniences which were shaken off as the capabilities of their new discovery became better understood. These changes often afford to the critical eye the only though satisfactory evidences of printer's name, place, and date. We propose, therefore, as an assistance to chronological arrangement, to notice the points of similarity between the earliest printed books and manuscripts generally, but especially with reference to the productions of Colard Mansion and Caxton; and then to trace the novelties, purely typographical, introduced by the printers.

A.D. 1400-1500.

1. There was a selection of material. The scribe naturally wrote his choice productions on fine vellum, carefully sorted for evenness in tone, quality, and stoutness; with the same idea the early printers sorted out their paper before beginning to print. This is frequently evident when an opportunity of comparing together two or three copies of the same book occurs. One is found to be entirely on thick, while another is all on thin paper,—one without a flaw, and another made up of what the modern stationer calls "outsides." The two copies of Caxton's "Knyght of the Toure," in the British Museum, present a remarkable instance of this plan of selection.

Press Marks, C. 11. c. 6. & C. 21. d.

2. It was a common custom with the scribes, when employing paper for their books, to use vellum for the inmost sheet of every section. The intention of this was to give a firm hold for the thread of the binder, and thus strengthen the volume, an object undoubtedly attained, although at a sacrifice of appearance. Caxton adopted a modification of this plan, and instead of a sheet, pasted a strip of vellum down the centre of the section. Many are the books which, having escaped the cleansing care of the modern bookbinder, still present to the observer either the slips themselves, or their visible traces in the brown stains left by the paste.

Harl. MSS. Nos. 43 and 7335; Lansdowne MSS. No. 699, and many others.

Also "Propositio" at Althorpe; the Vol. of "Minor Poems" at Cambridge, and several others.

3. On commencing his work, the scribe was mostly accustomed to leave the first leaf unwritten upon, and to begin on the third page, probably as a protection to the volume from soiling during the completion and binding. But whatever the motive, the practice was followed in *all* the early works which issued from the presses of Flanders and England. Unfortunately most of these books having received an expensive modern binding, the blank has been rejected as too coarse for a fly-leaf; and thus many volumes, although perfect as regards the print, have been described, in the absence of this leaf, as wanting the title-page.

Ames's Typographical Antiquities, London, 4to, 1749, *passim.*

4. The scribe necessarily wrote but one page at a time, and curiously enough, the early printers here also assimilated their practice. Whether from want of sufficient type to set up the requisite number of pages, or from the limited capability of the presses, there is strong evidence of the early books from Caxton's press having been printed page by page. Thus in all the books printed in Type No. 1, instances are found of pages on the same side of the sheet being out of parallel, which could not occur if two pages were printed together. A variation in the colour of the ink, though often very noticeable, is not a sure proof that the two pages

A.D. 1400-1500.

See also description of "The Recuyell," at Chatsworth, in vol. II of this work.

so differing were printed separately, as that may have occurred through imperfect *beating*. A positive proof of the separate printing of the pages may be seen in a copy of "The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye," in the Bodleian; for the 9th recto of the 3rd quinternion* has never been printed at all, while the 2nd verso (the page which must fall on the same side of the sheet) appears properly printed.

For MSS. with signatures, see Reg. MSS. 20 B. i. Arundel MSS. No. 112, and many others.

5. The method of *signatures* in use by the scribes was adopted by the printers, although many bibliographers have written as if these necessary marks were an invention purely typographical. Signatures were necessary alike to the writer, the printer, and the binder; and the absence of them would certainly have entailed much confusion, and waste of time. Being useful only so long as the book was unbound, they were placed as near as possible to the bottom of the leaf, so that they might disappear under the *plough* of the binder. This has happened in the great majority of instances, but in every case where the manuscript is uncut they may be seen. The earliest products of the press appeared without *printed* signatures, on account of the great inconvenience of printing them in the usual position, viz., at the extreme bottom edge of the leaf, yet as in the written books, where we can examine an *uncut* copy, there they are in manuscript. From this it seems certain, that before the practice of printing signatures was adopted, every sheet was passed under the hand of a scribe, and signed as it came from the press.

See "Le Recueil," at Windsor Castle, and at British Museum, C. 22. b.

6. At the commencement of a manuscript, the upper portion of the first written leaf was frequently left blank, for illustration by the vignette painter. Space was also left at the beginning of every chapter, and sometimes of every sentence, for the illuminated initial. The early printers for many years followed this plan, every book they issued requiring the artist's hand to complete it. The artist not being always sufficiently attentive, sometimes inserted the wrong capital. To avoid error therefore, a small directing letter was often inserted in the space to be filled in.

7. In transcribing a book it was seldom thought a matter of any importance to add the date of transcription and the writer's name, though occasional instances of this are found. It was probably a similar feeling which induced the early printers to follow this example; a practice which has caused the modern bibliographer to be doubtful on many

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* "The Recuyell" is made up of sections of *five* sheets in folio, folded *quirewise*, or inside one another.

chronological points of great interest. It was considered so needless to inform the reader when, where, or by whom his book was printed, that out of twenty-one works known to have issued from the press of Colard Mansion at Bruges, not more than five have any date to them, and of nearly one hundred publications attributed to Caxton's press, considerably more than two-thirds appear without any year of imprint.

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, par Aug. Bernard, Paris, 8vo, 1853. 2me partie, page 286.

8. Lastly, we will notice the similarity, amounting almost to identity, between the printed characters of the early typographers, and the written characters of their contemporaries, the caligraphers. It was this that probably first gave rise to the now admitted fable of Fust selling his Bibles at Paris as manuscripts, his impeachment before parliament as a sorcerer, and the consequent necessity he was under of saving his life by revealing his typographical secret.

The first printer, when he set about forming his Alphabet, was never troubled as to the shape he should give his letters. The form which would naturally present itself to him would be that to which he and the people, to whom he hoped to sell his productions, had been accustomed. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that the types used in the first printed books closely resemble the written characters of the period; nor that this imitation should be extended to all those combinations of letters which were then in use by the scribes. Thus the Psalters and Bibles which appeared in Germany, among the first productions of the press, were printed in the characters used by the scribes for ecclesiastical service-books, while more general literature was printed in the common bastard-roman. When Sweinheim and Pannartz, emigrating from Germany, took up their abode at the famous monastery of Subiaco, near Rome, they cut the punches for their new types in imitation of the Roman letters indigenous to the country, although the Gothic tendency still shows itself. In the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, where the vocation of the scribes had been so extensively encouraged, we find the same plan pursued. Colard Mansion, the first printer at Bruges, was also a celebrated caligrapher, and the resemblance* between his printed books and the best written manuscripts of his time, is very marked. The same character

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. page 70.

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* In Paris, the comparison may be made most satisfactorily, as the Imperial Library possesses the finest collection in existence of books printed by Colard Mansion; and at the same time can show more than one hundred MS. volumes from the libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy, in the 15th Century,—several in the handwriting of Colard Mansion himself. At the British Museum may be compared the "Controversie de Noblesse," and "Boccace," by Colard Mansion, with Harl. MSS. No. 6199; or Reg. MSS. 14 E ii.; 15 E i.; and 19 C viii.

of writing was also in use in England; and Caxton's types, especially those numbered 1, 2, 4 and 6, bear the closest resemblance to the hand-writing in the Mercers' books, and to the volumes of that era in the Archives at Guildhall. Notwithstanding this, Dibdin thus censures Caxton for not printing with Roman-cut types: "That perfect order, and symmetry, of press work, so immediately striking in the pages of foreign books of this period, are in vain to be sought for among the volumes which have issued from Caxton's press; and the uniform rejection of the Roman letter so successfully introduced by the Spiras, Jenson, and Sweynheym and Pannartz, is, unquestionably, a blemish in our printer's typographical reputation."

Typog. Antiq. vol. I, page cxxvi.

It will be apparent, from the foregoing remarks, that the books of our first printers necessarily bore no slight resemblance to manuscripts;* but this resemblance was soon modified, in many particulars, to suit the requirements of typography.

The first peculiarity to give way was the short spacing.† The uneven length of the lines, so noticeable in manuscripts, is a necessity, as the writer cannot forecast the space between the words so as to make the lines all of one length. It certainly was no necessity with the printers, and although in this respect they followed the time-honored customs of the scribes for a few years, they soon saw the improved appearance which evenness gave to their work, and thus established a typographical step in advance. With the Mentz and Cologne printers, this occurred at a very early stage. The first Psalter, 1457, and the Bible, from the Mentz

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See vol. II, under "Statutes."

* In 1856, an old-established bookseller, in one of our largest cathedral towns, marked a copy of Caxton's "Statutes of Hen. VII." as an old MS., *and sold it for* 2*s* 6*d*! See also the Remarks on Verard's "Euryalus et Lucrece," in Harl. MSS. Catalogue, vol. III, No. 4392.

† We may here observe, that bibliographers often misuse the word "justification," when referring to this practice of placing all the space at the end of lines. The printers' term, "justification" does not necessarily refer to the spacing out of the words in a line. Every line in a page *must* be "justified," that is, made of the normal length; and the last line in a paragraph, containing perhaps no more than one word, must be justified equally with the full-length line. Short lines are justified with quadrats, or pieces of metal, which fill up the line, but, being lower than the type, do not print. What is called "short," or "bad," or "imperfect justification," is sure to reveal itself, to the dismay of the compositor, by allowing the faulty line to fall out when the "form" is lifted. The probable reason why Colard Mansion and Caxton did not space their lines to an even length is, that at that time they had not begun to use the *setting-rule*. This useful little slip of metal enables each stamp, instead of catching in every unevenness or burr of the previous line, to be passed along an even surface to its destination. Its absence would entail many obstructions to the spacing-out of lines, and render the plan of leaving all the spare space at the end, which was actually adopted, at once more easy, expeditious, and free from accident.

press, show, now and then, lines slightly deficient in length, as do some of the *earliest* productions of Ulric Zel; but this rudeness soon gave way to a systematic plan of spacing the lines to one even length.

See "Controversie" and "Boccace" in the British Museum.

In the early specimens from the Bruges and Westminster presses, the practice of placing all the spare space at the end of the lines, instead of dividing it between the words, gives a very rude appearance to the page; and in these books, it is carried to a greater extent than in the works of any other printers. Colard Mansion changed this practice in 1479, and Caxton in 1480.

The adoption of printed signatures, close to the bottom line of the page, was another typographical divergence. They could not, for mechanical reasons, be printed in the position always chosen by the scribes, whence they would disappear by the hands of the binder; so their unsightliness was overlooked, and they were placed immediately beneath the text itself. Printed signatures were first used at Cologne in 1472. Caxton did not adopt them till 1480.

The execution of manuscript capitals being both tedious and expensive led to the early introduction of large letters engraved on wood, which were either printed in black at the same impression as the other portion, or in red, by a separate operation. Colard Mansion never seems to have adopted them, although several of his books are illustrated by large and numerous woodcuts. Caxton inserted illustrations on wood in two or three books before 1484, which is the date of "Æsop," where wood-cut initials appear for the first time.

Title-pages, again, are purely typographical in their origin, the scribes having satisfied themselves with heading their first page with the "Hic incipit" and name of the treatise. Caxton followed the manuscript practice in this particular; for, with one single exception, where the title of the book is printed alone in the centre of the first page, his books appear without any title-page. Wynken de Worde adopted title-pages immediately after the death of his master. Machlinia, and the schoolmaster-printer of St. Alban's, never used them. We have hitherto noticed only those peculiarities which are related to something similar in manuscripts; but there are other signs which often afford a criterion by which to determine the date: such are the size of the printed page, its depth and width, the number of lines in a page, but, above all, the sequence in the use of various types. In Caxton's books this is very remarkable, as will be seen by the following table, where only books with fixed dates are

See "Chastising of God's Children" in vol. II of this work.

A.D. 1400-1500.

entered, so that the reader may judge for himself of the chronological sequence of the peculiarities already noticed :—

Title.	Date of Printing.	No. of Type.	Length of Line. Inches.	Lines spaced out to the end or not.	Length of Page. Lines.	Signatures.	Initials.
The Recuyell	Before 1477	1	5	not	31	none	none
The Game of Chess, 1st		1	5	not	31	none	none
The Life of Jason		2	5	not	29	none	none
Dictes, 1st edition	Nov. 18th, 1477	2	5	not	29	none	none
Moral Proverbs	Feb. 20th, 1478	2	In Metre.		28	none	none
Cordyale	Mar. 24th, 1479	2 & 3	5	not	28	none	none
Chronicles, 1st edition...	June 10th, 1480	4	4¾	spaced out	40	rom. num.	none
Reynard, 1st edition ...	June 6th, 1481	2	4¾	spaced out	29	arab. figs.	none
Tulle	Aug. 12th, 1481	2	4¾	spaced out	29	arab. figs.	none
Godefroy	Nov. 20th, 1481	4	4¾	spaced out	40	arab. figs.	none
Polycronicon	July 2nd, 1482	4	4¾	spaced out	40	arab. figs.	none
Chronicles, 2nd edition .	Oct. 8th, 1482	4	4¾	spaced out	40	arab. figs.	none
Pilgrimage of the Soul	June 6th, 1483	4	4¾	spaced out	40	rom. num.	none
Liber Festivalis, 1st ed.	June 30th, 1483	4*	5	spaced out	38	rom. num.	none
Confessio Amantis	Sept. 2nd, 1483	4	2¾	spaced out	46	arab. figs.	none
Knight of the Tower ...	Jan. 31st, 1484	4*	5	spaced out	38	rom. num.	none
Æsop	Mar. 26th, 1484	4*	4¾	spaced out	38	rom. num.	wood
King Arthur	July 31st, 1485	4*	3¼	spaced out	26	rom. num.	wood
Charles the Great	Dec. 1st, 1485	4*	4¾	spaced out	38	rom. num.	wood
Paris and Vienne	Dec. 19th, 1485	4*	2⅜	spaced out	39	rom. num.	wood
Book of Good Manners	May 11th, 1487	5	4¾	spaced out	34	rom. num.	wood
Directorium Sacerdotum 2nd edition	—— 1489	6	4¾	spaced out	31	rom. num.	wood
Art and Craft	June 15th, 1490	6	4¾	spaced out	31	rom. num.	wood
Eneydos	June 22nd, 1490	6	4¾	spaced out	31	rom. num.	wood
Fayts of Arms	July 14th, 1490	6	4¾	spaced out	31	rom. num.	wood

A few interesting facts may be gathered from this table.

1. That the types used by Caxton bear a definite chronological relation to one another. Type No. 1 goes out of use, and is succeeded, in 1477, by No. 2. Type No. 3 is principally employed for headlines, &c. during the use of Nos. 2 and 4. In 1480 Type 4 makes its appearance, but not till No. 2 is about to disappear. In 1483, Type 4* supersedes its predecessor, and makes way, in its turn, to Nos. 5 and 6, which close the list. Were the books added which give the dates of their translation, which were almost always the same as that of their printing, the same result would be shown.

2. We notice that all the books printed before 1480 were with lines of an uneven length, while all after were spaced out evenly.

A.D. 1400-1500.

3. That signatures and even-spacing of the lines were synchronous improvements, and that both being once used were never abandoned. In the signatures themselves, a curious fact may be noted: that whereas the custom of Caxton was generally to use letters and Roman numerals (thus, 𝔟 j) for his signatures; yet in the two years, 1481 to 1483, he used Arabic numerals, thus 𝔟 1, or 2 1, and at no other period.

We may add that the use of the paragraph mark never appears before 1483; that the great device makes no appearance (the printed date to 3rd edition of "Dictes" notwithstanding) till about 1488; and that initials in wood first appear in the "Æsop," 1484, and never before.

By applying these tests to the undated books, we are enabled to attribute them, with tolerable certainty, to a period not extending over more than three years, and very often much less. On this principle the sequence of the books, in the second volume of this work, has been arranged.

The works of Colard Mansion being comparatively few, of which only five are dated, do not offer so good a field for example, but as far as they go, they show the same results. Thus the early books are all in type No. 1, with uneven lines, till about 1478, which was probably the date of "Le Quadrilogue," as the translation was in 1477. We then find a new type (No. 2) more like the Roman character introduced, and with that come the full lines, even at the end, the practice of uneven lines having never again been adopted.

From the foregoing statements, the following deductions may be made:—

1. That out of any number of *dated* books from the same press, those in which the lines are not spaced out to an even length, bear without exception an earlier imprint than those in which the lines end evenly.

Of this proposition the converse must also be allowed, viz.:—

2. That in a number of *undated* books from the same press, the fact of the lines being of an uneven length is sufficient proof of priority of workmanship.

3. It follows, as a corollary, that all books from the same press, with lines of an uneven length, preceded the first dated book from that press.

In arranging a number of books on this simple principle, a remarkable chronological agreement in the method of signatures—in the use of engraved capitals—in the sequence of types, in the width and depth

A.D. 1400-1500. of the pages, and in many other particulars, gives increased strength to these deductions.

In the ensuing Chapter, these evidences will be used to prove that Colard Mansion, of Bruges, must have issued his "Primum Opus" three or four years earlier than 1475, which is the usual period assigned to "Le Jardin de Dévotion," which again will give strong support to a succeeding Chapter, in which evidence of an independent character will be brought forward to show that in fact Colard Mansion *did* print for, or with, William Caxton, and was his instructor in the new art.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRUGES PRESS.

The Pre-eminence of Bruges—Printing carried on there at a very early Date—Colard Mansion; his History and his Typography.

A.D. 1445-84.

BRUGES, the old metropolis of Flanders, offers many points of the greatest interest to the historian and the antiquary. In the 15th Century, it was for generations the chosen residence of the Sovereigns of the House of Burgundy. There, as already noticed in Chapter I, were the affairs of State transacted, and to its marts the most opulent merchant-traders in Europe resorted. There the arts as well as commerce were developed to a degree of excellence never before equalled, and there even Paris was surpassed in number and beauty of literary treasures. Artists and craftsmen were consequently numerous, and we have already seen that portion of them connected with the production of books, enrolled as a trade guild. Nor is this pre-eminence immaterial to our enquiry, for not only was it in Bruges that our William Caxton was for more than thirty years a constant resident, holding for a considerable period a position of great authority, but it was in this City that he took his first lessons of typography, and from this City that he obtained the materials for prosecuting the New Art in his native Country. Let us then shortly review the rise of printing in Bruges, the cradle of English typography.

Chap. I, page 10.

Chap. III, page 26.

The reader has perhaps been surprised, while perusing the list of trades enrolled in the Guild of St. John, at Bruges, to find that in 1454, or a few years later, there were not only in active operation *vignette painters*, *scribes*, and *illuminators*, but also *figure engravers*, *letter engravers*, and *printers*. The "figure engravers" were doubtless the artists of the playing cards, the images of Saints, and the block books, then manufactured to a great extent in Holland and Flanders. The term "letter engraver" *may* have been applied to the sculptor of the legends on the block books, when not executed by the same artist as the figure itself, but

A.D. 1445-84.

of this there is no evidence, and it seems far from impossible that the term was used to denote artists employed to produce moveable types. The "printers" were doubtless workmen who took the impressions, whether by friction or a press, from the engraved blocks delivered to them; but there is no reason to restrict the meaning of the word, and the same term was from the commencement always applied to printers from moveable types. There is therefore, *primâ facie*, evidence to support the supposition that at a very early period there were workmen in Bruges who employed themselves, albeit in a very rudimentary way, in printing from moveable types.

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, &c., 1ere partie, Chap. I.

Recherches sur la Vie et les Travaux des Imprimeurs Belges et Néerlandais, établis a l'étranger, par P. C. Van der Meersch, 8vo, Gand, 1856. *Voyez l'Introduction.*

The history of the invention of printing does not come within the bounds of our present subject. The general opinion of late writers is, that the art was first *perfected* at Mentz, by the famous trio, Fust, Gutenberg, and Schœffer; but that nevertheless the *earliest use* of moveable types must be recognised in the rude specimens attributed to Laurence Coster, of Haarlem. Coster died in 1440, and nothing is known to have issued from the Haarlem press between that period and 1483; but what became of his assistants? Did they after gaining some insight into the curious effects of Coster's trials, resign all further attempts, or did they seek to imitate him, some in one town, some in another? No one knows; yet it seems more than probable that experiments in the direction of printing from moveable types were making about this period in every city where wood engraving and block printing were practised. An intelligent workman continually employed in engraving the legends on the pages of the block books, and feeling the great need of a more rapid production as the demand for books grew stronger, would necessarily be impressed with the advantage to be gained if the letters which required so much care and time to form could only be re-arranged without re-cutting. The idea was simple enough, in the execution was the difficulty. Nor need the opinion that at Bruges there existed at a very early period rude printers, be based on the notice of "letter-snyders" and "prenters" only; there has fortunately been preserved in the Archives at Lille an original manuscript containing a diary of Jean le Robert, Abbé de S. Aubert de Cambrai, among the entries in which the two following are especially worthy of notice, as showing that little books for the instruction of youth, which, so far as regarded the workmanship were doubtless "worthless" enough, were nevertheless printed and sold in Flanders, Bruges being apparently a depôt for them.

A.D. 1445-84.

"Item. For a printed Doctrinal (doctrinal gette en molle) that I have sent for to Bruges, by Marquet, a writer of Valenciennes, in the month of January, 1445 (i. e. 1446), for Jacquet, xx sous tournois."

"Item. Sent to Arras a Doctrinal for the instruction of dom. Gerard, which was purchased at Valenciennes, and was printed (jettez en molle), and cost xxiij. gros. The same Doctrinal he returned to me on Christmas day, 1451, saying that 'it was worthless, and full of errors:' he had bought one on paper for xx patards." *

Jettez en molle!—Cast in a mould! What can this expression mean, except that the "doctrinals" were printed from cast types. As applied to manuscripts, or to stencilling, or to block printing, "*jettez en molle*" has no meaning whatever. We must remember that printing at first came into competition with only the block books and the very lowest class of manuscripts used as school books. These "donatuses," "doctrinals," and other similar productions, being rude and necessarily cheap, it is not surprising that the printers of them have not appended their names, as they might have to books more worthy of preservation; nor can we wonder, if, being unworthy a place in any library, all trace of the existence of most of them has disappeared. It is indeed astonishing that *any* relics of these rudimentary efforts of the Press have been preserved to this day, when we consider that large books of a much later date, and well printed, are in several instances lost or represented by a unique copy.

Turning, however, from the uncertainties of typographical development, we find that the first book with a printed date which was issued at Bruges was the "Œuvre de Boccace du Déchiet des nobles Hommes et Femmes, folio, 1476." This was from the press of Colard Mansion, but there is strong reason to believe that this was not the date of his commencement by some years, and that several books besides "Le Jardin de Dévotion," which bears the Colophon "Primum opus impressum per Colardum Mansion, Brugis," preceded the "Boccace."

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. pp. 2 and 70.

COLARD MANSION is generally admitted to have been the first printer at Bruges (see Note *f*). It might, perhaps, be more correct to say that he was the first to print books there worthy of his own name and the

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* Extracts from "Memoriaux de Jean Le Robert, Abbé de Saint-Aubert de Cambrai," as quoted by M. Bernard:—

Folio 158 recto. "Item pour .j. doctrinal gette en molle anuoiet querre a Brug. par Marquet .j. escripuain de Vallen. ou mois de jenuier xlv pour Jaq. xx. s. t.

"Item enuoiet Arras .j. doctrinal pour apprendre ledit d. Girard qui fu accatez a Vallen. et estoit jettez en molle et cousta xxiiij. gr. Se me renuoia led. doctrinal le jour de Touss. lan .lj. disans quil ne falloit rien et estoit tout faulx. Sen auoit accate .j. x patt. en papier.

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, &c. 1^{ere} partie, where a facsimile is given.

A.D. 1445-84.

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. p. 70.

typographic art. Of his history but little is known. The first time his name occurs is in a document recording the payment to him in 1450 of fifty-four livres for a manuscript, written by him, entitled "Romuleon,"* which was purchased for the library of the Dukes of Burgundy. We also find that both the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and the Seigneur de Creveceur were his patrons. The former indeed was at one time on such friendly and familiar terms with Mansion, that he stood godfather to one of his children. It does not, however, appear that in later years, when poverty laid its heavy hand on the unfortunate printer, that any of his patrons came to his assistance. From 1454 to 1473 the name of Mansion appears, year by year, as a contributor to the Society of St. John, the formation of which has been already noticed. In 1471 he was "doyen" or Dean of the Guild, an office which lasted for two years, at the expiration of which time he is supposed to have left Bruges for a year, to have learnt the new art of printing. This is a needless assumption, and grounded solely on his subscription for 1473 having been paid through a brother of the Guild. From 1476 to 1482, his name does not appear at all as a contributor, although the dates of "Boece," "Le Quadrilogue," and "La Somme rurale," show that he was still at Bruges, and pursuing his vocation. His subscription to the Guild is again entered in 1483, and his name occurs in the Guild Records for the last time in 1484. This was a disastrous year to Colard Mansion; for, although not overtaken by death, as his early biographers have assumed, disgrace, poverty, and expatriation awaited him. He appears to have been in straitened circumstances for some years, as in 1480 he could not execute the commission of Monseigneur de Gazebeke for an illuminated copy of "Valerius Maximus," in two volumes, without several advances of money. The receipts for these part-payments are still preserved, as is also a notice of Mansion's place of residence, which was in one of the poorest streets in Bruges, issuing from the Rue des Carmes. His typographical labours were carried on in one of two rooms over the church-porch of St. Donatus. Here we may assume that he paid the same rent as the next tenant, six livres (6 lib. paris.) per annum. His landlords were the Chapter of St. Donatus, and, if we may judge from the church records still to be seen at Bruges, showed him little mercy. It was

Notice, &c. pp. 15 and 20.

Notice, &c. page 3.

Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, &c. page 12.

Annales de Société d'émulation, 8vo. Bruges, 1847, 2me Série, Tome V, page 371.

Bruges Records. Auth. O 1, 2, & 3.

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* A manuscript of this book, beautifully illuminated, and in a hand closely resembling the "grosbatarde" of Colard Mansion's printed books, is in the British Museum. (MSS. Reg. 19 E v.)

A.D. 1445-84.

Colard Mansion et les Imprimeurs Brugeois du 15me siècle, par l'Abbé Carton, 8vo. 44 pages, cum fig. Bruges, 1851.

May, 1484, when, in this room, Colard Mansion finished his beautiful edition of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," a magnificent folio of 386 leaves, and full of wood-cuts, printed-in separately from the text. We know nothing of the sale of this noble production; but the expenses connected with it were probably his ruin, as about three months later he fled the town. The Chapter, feeling alarmed for their rent, soon made inquiries about his return, especially as they had an opportunity of letting the room to a better tenant; but all was in vain, and in October, 1484, the apartment where for so many years Mansion had been labouring at those volumes, which future generations would prize as the chief glory of their city, was made over to John Gossin, bookbinder.* Nothing more is known of Mansion after this sad event; and it is mournful to contemplate the poor old man turning his back upon his native town, and, after so many years spent in literary labour, having to begin life anew at the age of nearly sixty years. It has been suggested that he took refuge in Paris, as in that city the names of Paul and Robert Mansion appear as printers in 1650. We would rather believe the suggestion that he joined his old associate, William Caxton, and assisted him by designs for his large device and various woodcuts for the books, which about this time made their appearance from the Westminster press. But, turning from the melancholy fate of Mansion, it is cheering to find that his clerical landlords were not losers by his departure, as they took good care to exact from the book-binder, as the only condition of tenure, that *he* should pay all the arrears due by Colard Mansion, in addition to the usual rent of six livres per annum.

Bruges Records. Auth. O 3.

We will now examine some of the products of Mansion's press. It is somewhat confusing to the lover of accuracy, to find that Colard Mansion, like all the first printers, issued most of his productions without date, and many even without name or place. In this he merely followed the example of his predecessors, the scribes, who seldom appended their names, or the date of the transcript. Of the works of his press Van Praet enumerates twenty-one, since which another has been discovered. These, to the eye of a printer, naturally divide themselves into two classes.

A Bibliographical, &c. Tour in France and Germany, by T. F. Dibdin, 8vo. 1829, vol. II, page 127.

1st. The earlier books printed in a large bold secretary type. (Plate II.)

2nd. The later books, printed in a small semi-roman character, known as "Lettres de Somme."

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* This John Gossin appears to have united the occupations of scribe, bookbinder, and excise officer. In one of the town registers, which contains a list of all the offices in the gift of the "Magistrat de Bruges," his name appears in 1493 as "wynspuerscepe," or wine-taster.

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. page 86.

Chap. III, page 35.

It has been already shown that *short-spacing*, in early books, is a sure sign of priority of workmanship to those in which the lines are all of equal length. The dated books of Colard Mansion fully bear this out. They are only six in number.

Le Jardin de Dévotion	before 1476	short spaced.
Boccace du déchiet des nobles hommes, &c.	1476	〃
Boece de la consolation de Philosophie	1477	〃
Le Quadrilogue d'Alain Chartier	1478*	full spaced.
La Somme rurale	1479	〃
Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide	1484	〃

Taking, then, 1478 as the year in which Mansion changed his practice, we may assume, without fear of being wrong, that all the undated books, with short-spaced lines, were anterior, and all the undated books, with their lines spaced to one length, posterior to "Le Quadrilogue." The following list of his undated productions, is arranged on this basis:—

Not later than 1478, having lines of an uneven length:—

Les Dits moraux des Philosophes	short spaced.
Les Invectives contre la Secte de Vauderie	〃
La Controversie de Noblesse	〃
Débat entre trois valeureux Princes	〃

Not earlier than 1478, having lines of an even length:—

Les Advineaux amoureux (1*st edition*)	full spaced.
Le Doctrinal du temps présent	〃
La Doctrine de bien vivre	〃
L'Art de bien mourir	〃
La Purgatoire des mauvais Maris	〃
L'Abuse en court	〃
Les Evangiles des Quenoilles	〃
Le Donat espirituel	〃
Dionysii Areopagitæ liber	〃

The two following books have not been examined; but, from Van Praet's account, the former would probably take rank among the short-spaced books, and the latter among the long-spaced:—

Traité des Monnoies	short spaced ?
Les Adeuineaux amoreux (2*nd edition.*)	full spaced ?

Colard Mansion seems never to have produced works from his press with rapidity; and therefore, if we assume that the four books which certainly were printed before 1478, were, with the "Primum Opus," issued before the "Boccace" of 1476, we must, according to the rate of production of Colard Mansion's press, which appears never to have exceeded two books in the year, take back the earliest of these books to about 1471-2. This establishes him as a printer in Bruges about the time when Caxton finished his translation of "Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye." Probably Colard Mansion had been practising a rude kind of printing for many years before he arrived at skill sufficient to produce the books just noticed. What assistance he obtained, or what information he derived from towns where the Press was already established, it is impossible to say; but that he did *not* learn his art at Cologne in 1473, as is generally assumed, or at any other time, must be the conviction of any one who dispassionately compares the productions of the two presses. All the typographical practices of Mansion and the Mentz school, as shown in their books, are widely different, and plainly evince a distinct origin.

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* The only date in the Volume is 1477, which was the year when the Prologue was composed; the printing must have been later than this.

In his early books Mansion employed a very bold secretary type, much the same in shape and size as the character in which he was accustomed to execute his manuscripts (See Plates II and IV). He likewise printed, at the beginnings of chapters, the summary in red ink; and here he displayed so curious an application of typographical ingenuity that the reader's attention is particularly requested to a description of it. In Plate No. III is given a close imitation of the appearance which the red ink, as used by Mansion in his "Boccace," "Boece," "La Somme rurale," and "Ovide," presents. This Plate is from the "Boece" of 1477, in the public library of Bruges. It will be noticed that the red ink is very dirty in colour, and moreover that the black lines, nearest the red, have their edges all tipped with red.* As a printer, this at first puzzled me exceedingly; for the *separate* printing of lines in red ink affords no opportunity for the production of this defect. The following explanation will satisfactorily show the *modus operandi.* The two colours were printed by one and the same pull of the press, all the type, both for black and red, being included in the same form. But it was impossible to beat the form with the balls, and leave a single line in the middle untouched; so the whole page was first inked black, and then (a space for play being always left above

Boccace, 1476.
La Somme rurale, 1479.
Ovide, 1484.

---

* There are at present only three specimens of the Bruges Press in the Library of the British Museum. The "Controversie de Noblesse" is all in black ink. The "Boccace" (purchased in 1858 from the Library of M. Borluut de Noortdonck, at Ghent) would have offered on Folio ij a good specimen of red and black; but unfortunately that leaf in this copy is not original. The "Somme rurale," however (lately procured at the sale of M. Solar's Library, Paris), although of a later date, and in the second type of the Printer, shows this peculiarity very plainly.

A.D. 1445-84.

and below) the black ink was carefully wiped from the intended red line, and that line being re-inked with red, by the finger (as in our specimens), or by other means, the sheet was then pulled. Two inconveniences attended this clumsy process,—the black could never be removed so completely that it would not taint the ensuing red, and the utmost care would not, in most cases, prevent the black lines nearest the red, from receiving a slight visit from the red finger, or ball. In fact, both these defects appear in every book printed by Colard Mansion, where the two colours were used, and frequently a third,—the loss of a portion of the black ink nearest to the red, which occurred in the wiping process. Actual experiment shows that this mode of working both colours at once is the only solution of the appearance, and the inducement for its adoption was in all probability the perfect accuracy of "register" it necessitated, as by this plan there was no fear of the red lines not fitting exactly in their proper places,—an accuracy very difficult to obtain, by separate printings, at a rudimentary press. This peculiarity of workmanship in the Bruges printer seems to be entirely confined to himself. Neither the Mentz nor the Cologne printers afford any instance of an approach to a similar practice.

In the next Chapter it is proposed to show how all the peculiarities noticeable in the printed productions of Colard Mansion may be traced in those attributed to William Caxton.

PLATE II.

Facsimile.

LA CONTROVERSIE DE NOBLESSE.

[British Museum.]

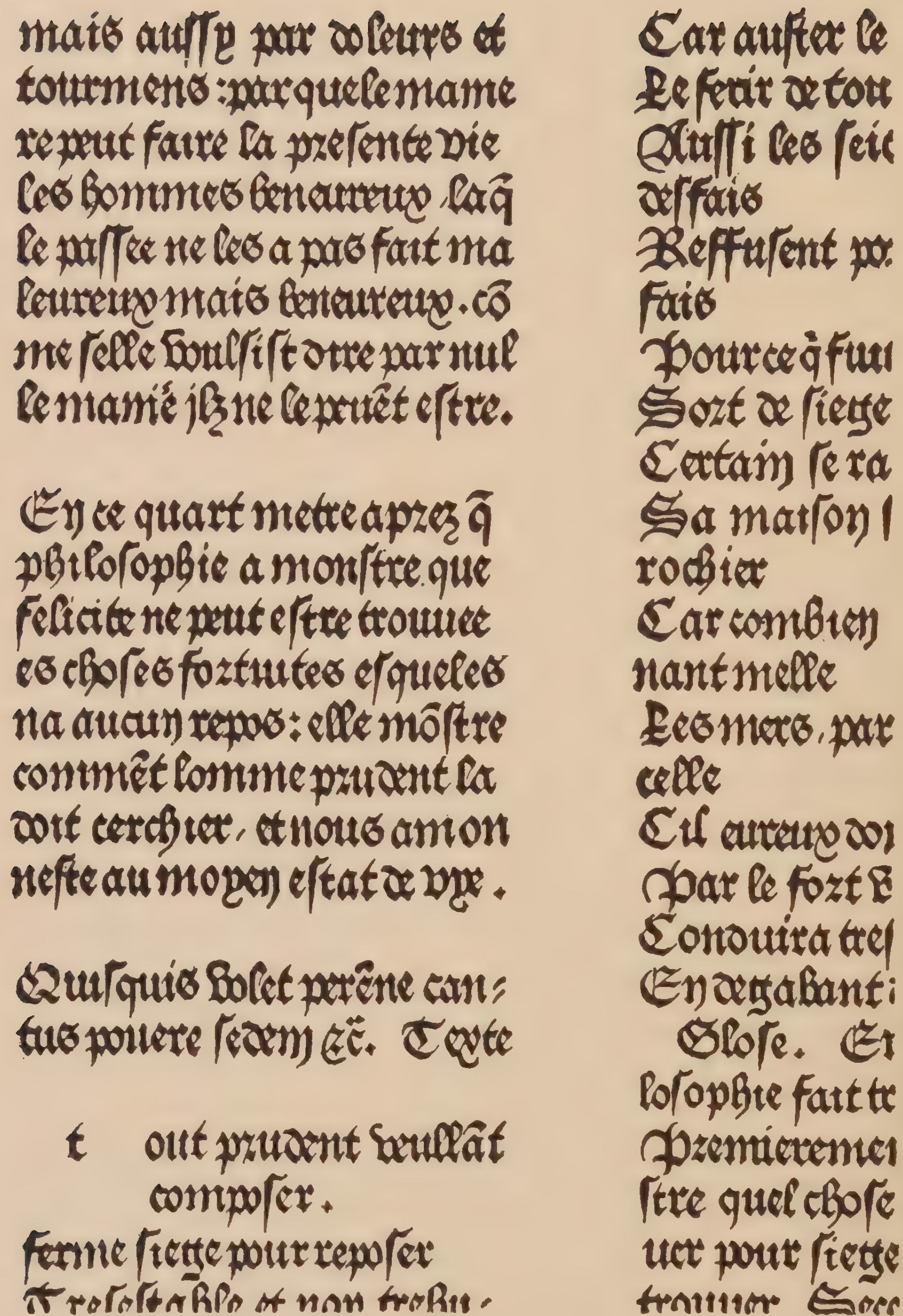
An early undated work of Colard Mansion. Recto of 1st leaf.

A specimen of Mansion's Type No. 1, showing the same design as the early types of Caxton, and the Manuscripts of that period.

Ja commence la controuerſie de nobleſſe plaidoyee entre Publius Cornelius Sapion dunepart .Et Gayus flammus de autrepart .Laquelle a eſte faicte et compoſee par vn notable docteur en loix et grant orateur nomme Surſe de piſtoye .

ntre noz anciens maiſtres a eſte ſouuent diſpute de nobleſſe .Car pluſieurs ont cuidie quelle fuſt ſcituee en felicite de lignage .Et les autres ſi ont afferme quelle eſt influence de richeſſes ,Et moult dautres ont eſte doppinion quelle fuſt en gloire de vertu Mais pour ce q̄ ce me ſemble eſtre vne choſe treſbelle et treſdigne deſtre diſputee et plaidoyee .et auſſi pour ce que ie ne lay pas aincoires trouuee ſouffiſamment traittiee par les orateurs :iay de moy meſmes entreprins de la mettre par eſcript et le reduire en tele nouuelle maniere de declamation : en laquelle nobleſſe iadis ſe delictoit ſouuerainement tout leage des plus anciens comme en ce ou quelcōques contention des cauſes foraines pooit plus

Pl. III.



mais auſſy par doleurs et tourmens : par quele maniere peut faire la preſente vie les hommes benaureux, laq̃le paſſee ne les a pas fait maleureux mais benaureux. cõme ſelle voulſiſt dire par nul le maniẽ ilz ne le peuẽt eſtre.

En ce quart metre aprez q̃ philoſophie a monſtre que felicite ne peut eſtre trouuee es choſes fortuites eſqueles na aucun repos : elle mõſtre commẽt lomme prudent la doit cerchier, et nous amonneſte au moyen eſtat de vye.

Quiſquis volet perẽne cantus ponere ſedem ⁊c̃. Texte

Tout prudent veullãt
compoſer.
ferme ſiege pour repoſer
Treſeſtable et non trebu-

Car auſter le
Le ſeuir de tou
Auſſi les ſeic
deſfais
Reffuſent po
fais
Pource q̃ fuu
Sort de ſiege
Certain ſe ra
Sa maiſon
rochier
Car combien
nant melle
Les mers, par
celle
Cil eureux do
Par le fort
Conduira tre
En degabant
Gloſe. E
loſophie fait tr
Premiereme
ſtre quel choſe
uer pour ſiege
trouuer Sec

PLATE III.

Imitation.

BOECE DE LA CONSOLATION DE PHILOSOPHIE, 1477.

[Public Library, Bruges, No. 3876.]

From the Press of Colard Mansion. Portion of a large double-column page; folio 44 verso.

This Plate shows the same peculiarity in the use of red ink as is found in "Les quatre derrenieres choses," hitherto attributed to Caxton. See Plate VIII.

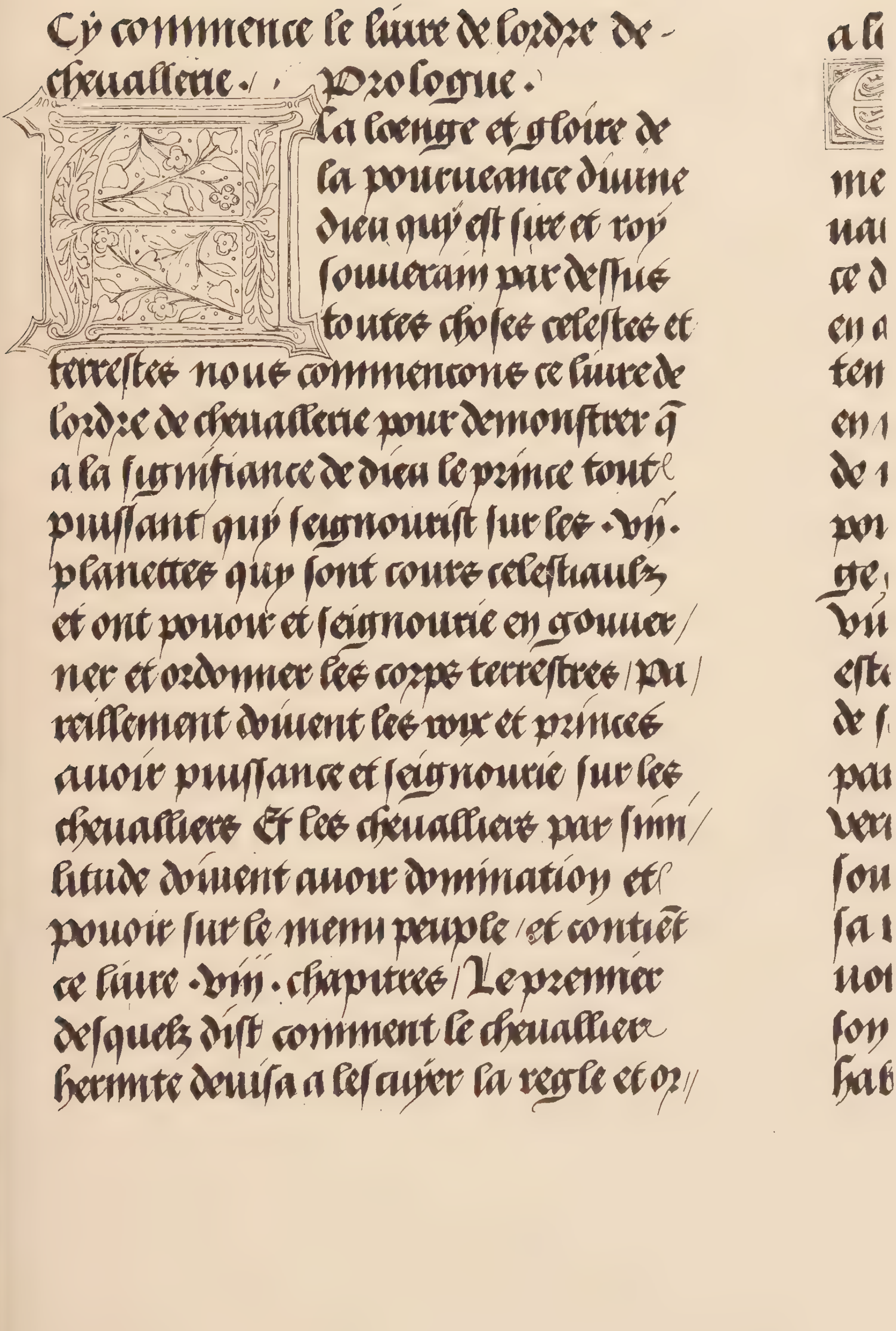
PLATE IV.

Facsimile.

A MANUSCRIPT, WRITTEN AT BRUGES.

[British Museum. Reg. 14 E ii.]

From "Le Livre de l'Ordre de Chevallerie," written at Bruges for Edward IV. Large Folio, with illuminations. The Writing shows the same design as the types used by Colard Mansion and William Caxton.



Cy commence le liure de lordre de cheuallerie . Prologue .

A la loenge et gloire de la pourueance diuine dieu quy est sire et roy souuerain par dessus toutes choses celestes et terrestes nous commencons ce liure de lordre de cheuallerie pour demonstrer q̃ a la signifiance de dieu le prince tout puissant quy seignourist sur les .vij. planettes quy sont cours celestiaulz et ont pouoir et seignourie en gouuerner et ordonner les corps terrestres / Pareillement doiuent les roix et princes auoir puissance et seignourie sur les cheualliers Et les cheualliers par similitude doiuent auoir domination et pouoir sur le menu peuple / et contient ce liure .viij. chapitres / Le premier desquelz dist comment le cheuallier hermite deuisa a lescuyer la regle et or//

a l
me
na
ce d
en a
ten
en
de
por
ge
vu
est
de s
pau
ver
sou
sa
no
son
hab

ſur paine de moꝛt quelles ne ſouffriſſent aucun homme de
nir leans/ou ſans ſon ſceu parler a ſa fille/Quant Jl ot ce
fait Jl retourna en la cite darges et aſſembla.xl.foꝛtes fem
mes leſquelles Jl ſouldoya et enuoya garder la poꝛte et len
tree de celle tour La renōmee de ces choſes mōta en ſi hault
ſon que toute grece en fut plaine de merueill et ny auoit roy
ne prince qui ne plaindiſt la perte de la Jenneſſe de danes
qui loꝛs eſtoit tenue pour la plus belle de toutes les gre-
goiſes ⁊c .

Comme le noble roy Jupiter en guiſe de de meſſagier

Jn eſchewyng of ydlenes moder of all vices . J haue de-
libered in my ſelf foꝛ the contemplacion of my ſayd re
doubtid lady to take this laboure in hand by yͤ ſuffrance
and helpe of almyghty god . whome J mekely ſupplye
to gyue me grace to accomplyſſhe hit to the playſir of
her that is cauſer therof and that ſhe reſſeyue hit in gre
of me her faithfull trewe ⁊ moſte humble ſeruant ⁊c.

Thus endeth the ſeconde book ·

ſhe betrayed her cyte and ſayd ſuche huſbonde / ſuche
wyf ⁊c And this ſuffiseth of the Quene .

The thirde chapitre of the ſeconde tractate treteth of
the alphyns her offices and maners .

He Alphyns ought to be made and foꝛmed in
manere of Juges ſyttynge in a chayer wyth a
book open to fore their eyen/And that is be cauſe
that ſome cauſes ben crymynell / And ſome ben cyuyle
as aboute poſſeſſyons and other temporell thynges
and treſpaces / And therfore ought to be two Juges

PLATE V.

Facsimile.

Caxton's Type No. 1.

LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES DE TROYE.

[British Museum.]

From the recto of leaf 42.

THE RECUYELL OF THE HISTORIES OF TROYE.

[British Museum.]

From the recto of last leaf in Book II.

CHESS-BOOK. First Edition.

[British Museum. Gren. 10543.]

From the verso of leaf 12.

PLATE VI.

Facsimile.

Caxton's Type No. 1.

LES SEPT PSEAULMES PENITENCIAULX.

[British Museum.]

The first eleven lines in the Book.

DITTO.

The last eight lines in the Book.

LES FAIS DU JASON.

[Eton College.]

The last lines in the Book.

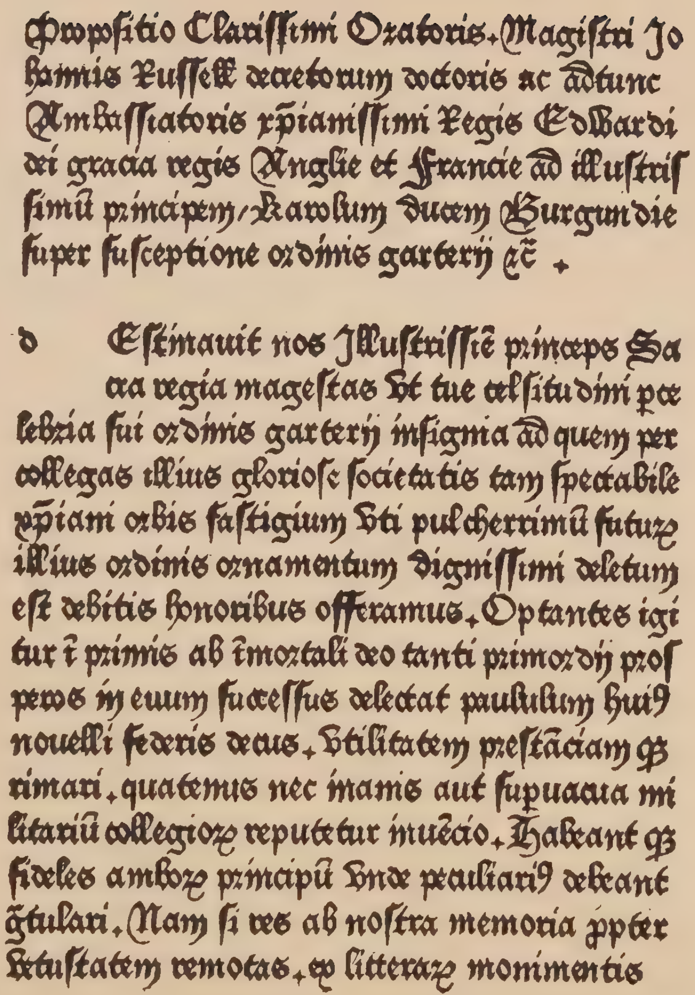
l

A vraye penitance eſt comme aucune eſchielle par laquelle lomme pecheur qui ſelon la parabole de leuuangille deſcendy de Iheruſalem en Iherico monta de rechief de Iherico en Iheruſalem/ ceſt aviſion de paix. Car auſſi Iheruſalem eſt viſion de paix Interpretee En ceſte eſchielle ſont ſept degrez eſquelz cõuiennent les ſept pſeaulmes leſquelz penitenciaulx· ſont appellez /Le premier degre eſt /Cremeur de paine et de lui commence le pſeaulme penitencial aſſauoir. Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neqꝫ in ira tua corripias me / Miſerere mei domine quoniam infirmus ſum ꝛc: Par lequel pſeaulme le

celeſtiel Deffiance de ma propre vertu Et finablement exultacion de leeſſe eſpirituelle/ Puis encores ſil te plaiſt me donne que par ce ſeptenuaire des pſeaulmes de penitence leſquelz correſpondent aux ſept affectz de lomme prins pour les ſept degrez de leſchielle de penitence Je puiſſe mõter et paruenir atoy en celle tant glorieuſe cite de Iheruſalem en laquelle tu habites et te offrir auec les ſains et beneurez le ſacrifice de loenge ſans fin/: AMEN

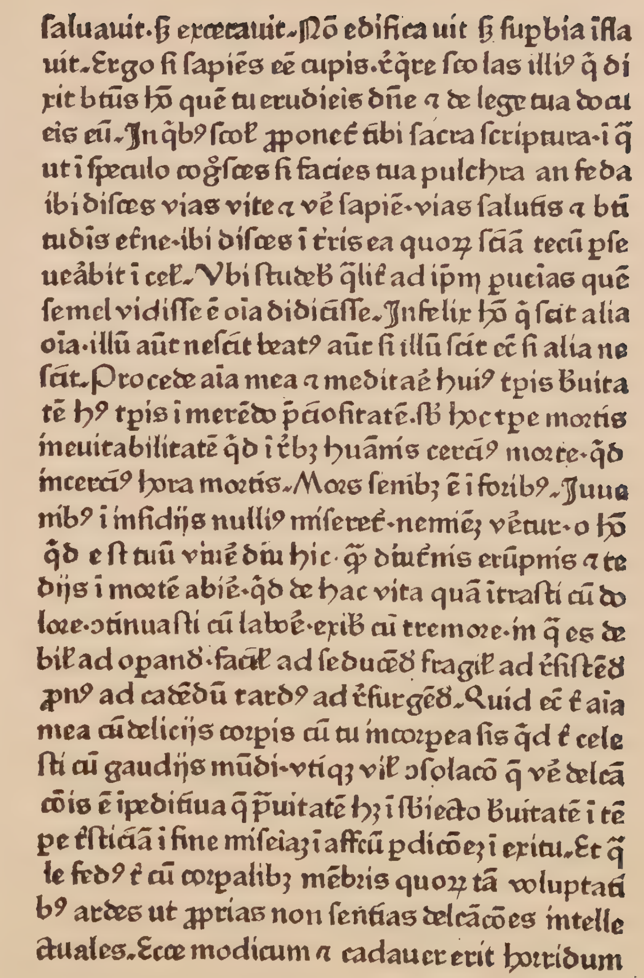
blement que poſſible lui fut / Et par ainſi Jaſon et medee regnerent et leur royaulme gouuernerent haultement long temps / Pendant lequel Ilz veſquirent enſemble en grant amour et concorde et orent pluſieurs moult beaulx enfans qui regnerẽt apres eulx dont Je nay trouue quelque hiſtoire ou ſentence / Et pour ce Je fineray ceſte hiſtoire atant priant a mon deuant dit treſredoubte ſeigneur/ Et atous ceulx qui le contenu de ce preſent volume liront . ou orront lire . quil leur plaiſe de grace excuſer autant que mon petit et rude engin na ſceu touchier ne peu comprendre ꝛc ::.

Explicit



Propoſitio Clariſſimi Oratoris. Magiſtri Jo
hannis Ruſſell decretorum doctoris ac adtunc
Ambaſſiatoris xpianiſſimi Regis Edwardi
dei gracia regis Anglie et Francie ad illuſtriſ
ſimū principem/Karolum ducem Burgundie
ſuper ſuſceptione ordinis garterii ꝛc̄ .

d Eſtinauit nos Illuſtriſſiē princeps Sa
cra regia mageſtas vt tue celſitudini pce
lebria ſui ordinis garterii inſignia ad quem per
collegas illius glorioſe ſocietatis tam ſpectabile
xpiani orbis faſtigium vti pulcherrimū futuꝝ
illius ordinis ornamentum digniſſimi deletum
eſt debitis honoribus offeramus. Optantes igi
tur ī primis ab īmortali deo tanti primordii proſ
peros in euum ſucceſſus delectat paululum huiꝰ
nouelli federis decus. Vtilitatem preſtāciam ꝗ
rimari. quatenus nec inanis aut ſupuacua mi
litariū collegioꝝ reputetur inuēcio. Habeant ꝗ
fideles amboꝝ principū vnde peculiariꝰ debeant
ꝯtulari. Nam ſi res ab noſtra memoria ꝓpter
vetuſtatem remotas. ex litteraꝝ monimentis



ſaluauit. ſꝫ excecauit. Nō edificauit ſꝫ ſupbia iſfla
uit. Ergo ſi ſapiēs eē cupis. ēq̄re ſcolas illiꝰ q̄ di
xit btūs hō quē tu erudieris dn̄e ꝛ de lege tua docu
eris eū. In q̄bꝰ ſcol' ꝓponet tibi ſacra ſcriptura. i q̄
ut i ſpeculo cog̊ſces ſi facies tua pulchra an feda
ibi diſces vias vite ꝛ vē ſapiē. vias ſalutis ꝛ btī
tudis etne. ibi diſces i tris ea quoꝝ ſciā tecū pſe
ueābit i cel'. Vbi ſtudeb' q̄lit' ad ipm̄ puenias quē
ſemel vidiſſe ē oia didiciſſe. Infelix hō q̄ ſcit alia
oia. illū aūt neſcit beatꝰ aūt ſi illū ſcit eē ſi alia ne
ſciāt. Procede aīa mea ꝛ meditarē huiꝰ tpis būita
tē hꝰ tpis i merēdo p̄ciofitatē. ſb hoc tpe mortis
ineuitabilitatē q̄d i rebꝫ huānis certiꝰ morte. q̄d
incertiꝰ hora mortis. Mors ſenibꝫ ē i foribꝰ. Juue
nibꝰ i inſidiis nulliꝰ miſeret'. nemīeꝫ v'etur. o hō
q̄d eſt tuū viuē diu hic. q̄ diutinis erūpnis ꝛ te
diis i mortē abiē. q̄d de hac vita quā itraſti cū do
lore. ꝯtinuaſti cū labore. exib' cū tremore. in q̄ es de
bil' ad opand. facil' ad ſeducēd. fragil' ad reſiſtēd
ꝓnꝰ ad cadēdū tardꝰ ad reſurgēd. Quid eē t' aia
mea cū deliciis corpis cū tu incorpea ſis q̄d t' cele
ſti cū gaudiis mūdi. vtiqꝫ vil' ꝯſolacō q̄ vē delcā
cōis ē ipeditiua q̄ ꝑuitatē hꝫ i ſbiecto būitatē i tē
pe eſticiā i fine miſeiaꝫ i affcū pdicōeꝫ i exitu. Et q̄
le fedꝰ t' cū corpalibꝫ mēbris quoꝝ tā voluptati
bꝰ ardes ut ꝓprias non ſentias delcācōes intelle
ctuales. Ecce modicum ꝛ cadauer erit horridum

PLATE VII.

Facsimile.

Caxton's Type No. 2.

PROPOSITIO CLARISSIMI JOHANNIS RUSSELL.

[Althorp.]

The First Page.

Ulric Zel's Type.

SPECULUM ANIMÆ HENRICI DE HASSIA.

The verso of leaf 8.

PLATE VIII.

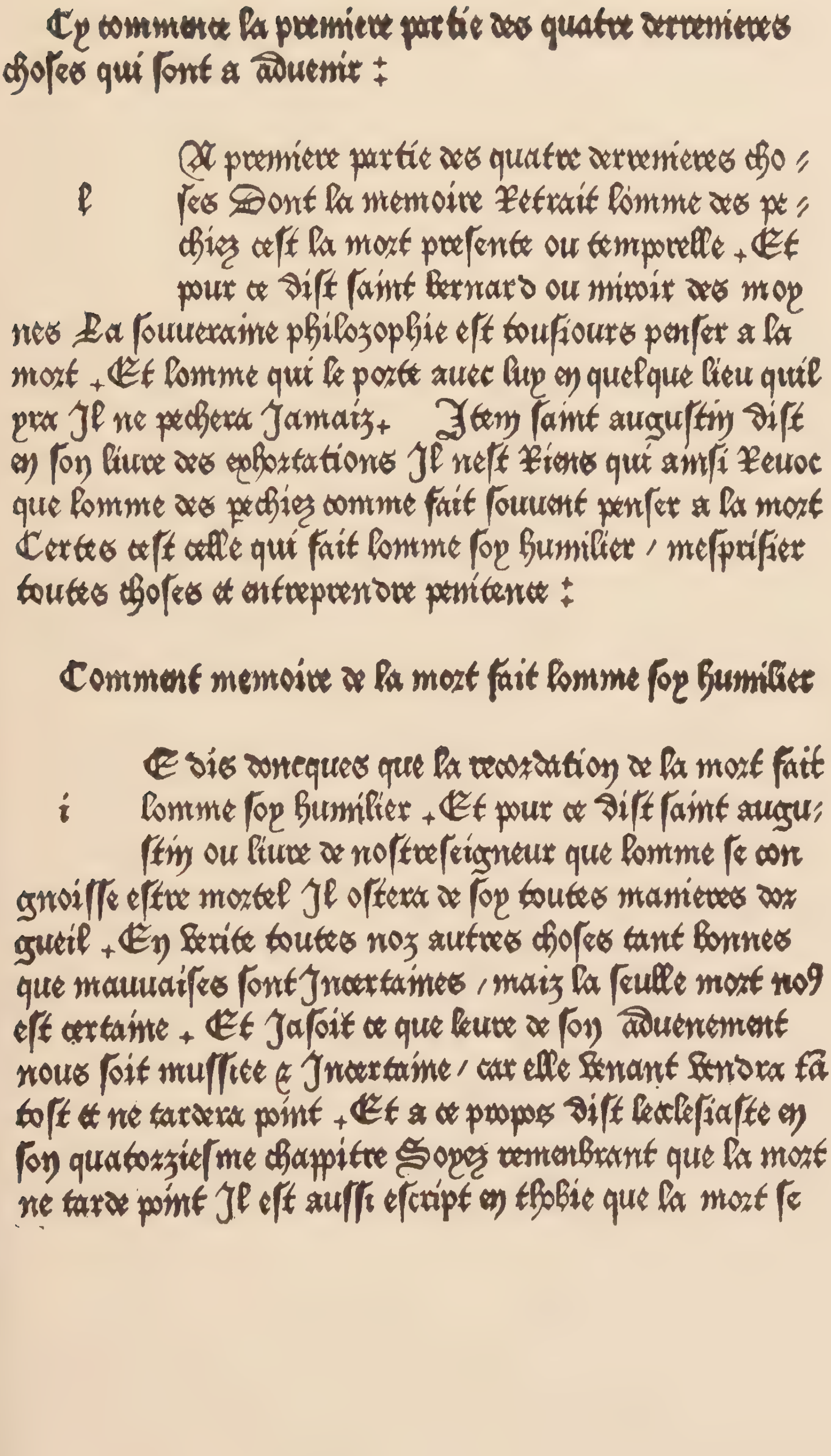
Imitation.

LES QUATRE DERRENIERES CHOSES.

[British Museum.]

Without date. Recto of 5th printed leaf.

Shows the same peculiarity in the use of red ink as is found in "Boece" and other early books from the Press of Colard Mansion.



Cy commence la premiere partie des quatre derrenieres choſes qui ſont a aduenir :

l A premiere partie des quatre derrenieres choſes Dont la memoire Retrait lomme des pechiez ceſt la mort preſente ou temporelle. Et pour ce diſt ſaint bernard ou miroir des moynes La ſouueraine philozophie eſt touſiours penſer a la mort. Et lomme qui le porte auec luy en quelque lieu quil yra Il ne pechera Jamaiz. Item ſaint auguſtin diſt en ſon liure des exhortations Il neſt Riens qui ainſi Reuocque lomme des pechiez comme fait ſouuent penſer a la mort Certes ceſt celle qui fait lomme ſoy humilier / meſpriſier toutes choſes et entreprendre penitence :

Comment memoire de la mort fait lomme ſoy humilier

i E dis doncques que la recordation de la mort fait lomme ſoy humilier. Et pour ce diſt ſaint auguſtin ou liure de noſtreſeigneur que lomme ſe congnoiſſe eſtre mortel Il oſtera de ſoy toutes manieres dorgueil. En verite toutes noz autres choſes tant bonnes que mauuaiſes ſont Incertaines / maiz la ſeulle mort no9 eſt certaine. Et Jaſoit ce que leure de ſon aduenement nous ſoit muſſiee ⁊ Incertaine / car elle venant vendra fā toſt et ne tardera point. Et a ce propos diſt leccleſiaſte en ſon quatorzieſme chappitre Soyez remembrant que la mort ne tarde point Il eſt auſſi eſcript en thobie que la mort ſe

CHAPTER V.

WHO TAUGHT CAXTON TO PRINT?

On certain Books generally attributed to Caxton before his Settlement at Westminster—Reasons for attributing the whole of them to Colard Mansion—The extent of Caxton's Typography at Bruges—Date of his return to England.

A.D. 1470-75.

VERY vague and contradictory are the opinions of bibliographers on the typographical productions attributable to Caxton before his return to England; and the difficulty has increased, as, time after time, fresh specimens have been discovered.

The list, which a typical examination of the books in the libraries of Holland and Belgium would probably still further augment, now includes seven books in two sorts of type, viz.:—

In Type No. 1.

1. *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye.* Folio. Translated by Caxton in 1471, but without Place or Date of Printing. This will be quoted for shortness as "The Recuyell."
2. *The Game and Playe of the Chesse.* Folio. First Edition. Finished 31st March, 1474. Without Place of Printing. Short title, "The Chess-Book."
3. *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye.* Folio. Compiled in 1464, but without Printer's Name, Place, or Date. Short Title, "Le Recueil."
4. *Les Fais du Jason.* Folio. Sine ullâ notâ.
5. *Meditacions sur les Sept Pseaulmes Penitenciaulx.* Folio. Sine ullâ notâ. Short Title, "Meditacions."

In Type No. 2.

6. *Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Johannis Russell.* Consisting of Four Quarto leaves. Sine ullâ notâ. Short Title, "Propositio."
7. *Les quatre derrenieres choses qui sont advenir.* Folio. Sine ullâ notâ. Short Title, "Les 4^{tre} derrenieres choses."

The Life of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, by John Lewis, Minister of Mergate, 8vo, London, 1737.

Typographical Antiquities, by Joseph Ames, 4to, London, 1749.

Typographical Antiquities, augmented by William Herbert, 3 vols, 4to, London, 1785-90.

Typographical Antiquities, enlarged by T. F. Dibdin, 4 vols, 4to, London, 1810-19.

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. p. 79.

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, &c. vol. II, page 202.

See an Account of, in Archæologia, vol. xxxi, p. 412.

Of these productions, "The Recuyell" alone has been by general consent ascribed to Caxton while abroad. Lewis was only acquainted with "The Recuyell" and "Chess-Book," the latter of which he presumes to have been the first book printed in England, an opinion adopted by Ames and Herbert. To these two books Ames added "Le Recueil," giving it the foremost place in his list, but was doubtful about attributing it to Caxton. Dibdin, supported by the opinion of Bryant, believed all three to have been produced by Caxton, at Cologne, and even adds a fourth, "Propositio clarissimi Johannis Russell," in Type No. 2, which he imagines to have been also by Caxton, before his return to England, though he refrains from venturing an opinion as to the place of printing. To these M. Van Praet (and several Continental bibliographers) added "Les Fais du Jason," ascribing all to Caxton, at Cologne; in which opinion, so far as the place of printing is concerned, he is supported by the latest writer on the subject, M. Bernard, who has thrown so much light on the early history of printing. The list was completed, so far as known at present, when Mr. J. Winter Jones discovered, about ten years ago, in the British Museum, "Meditacions," and "Les 4$^{\text{tre}}$ derrenieres choses."

We have now to consider the proofs of printer's name, place, and date, afforded by these seven books. The evidence adduced will be,—First, that derived from the prologues, epilogues, and colophons, attached to some of the books; and, secondly, that obtained by a minute examination of the peculiarities of workmanship and arrangement.

I. Of the seven books above enumerated, only three afford, by prologue or epilogue, any information as to their origin.

The Recuyell.
Prol. to book I.
Epil. to book II.
Epil. to book III.

"THE RECUYELL" has curious and interesting gossip from Caxton's own pen, from which we learn that the translation was finished at the command of the Duchess of Burgundy, whose servant Caxton then was; that it was begun at Bruges on March 1st, 1468, or, as we now should reckon 1469,* was carried on at Ghent, and finished at Cologne on 19th September, 1471, making a period of two and a half years; that, on the completion of the whole, he presented a copy to the Duchess, who largely rewarded him; that many persons desired copies also, but that, finding the labour of writing too wearisome for him, and not expeditious enough for his friends, he had practised and learnt, at his great charge and

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* The year at that time, in Flanders, was reckoned from Easter, which, in 1469, did not happen till April 2nd.

A.D. 1470-75.

expense, to ordain the book in print, to the end that every man might have them at once. As was natural to a person making practical acquaintance, for the first time, with the effects of typography, Caxton ends with noticing what to him, accustomed to see one copy finished before another was begun, was the most wonderful feature of the new art, viz., that all the copies were begun upon one day, and were finished upon one day.

The periods of time mentioned by Caxton in the Prologue to this work require notice. He began to translate on March 1st, 1469, but soon relinquished his self-imposed task, after writing no more than five or six quires (or sections of four or five sheets each). At the end of two years, or in March, 1471, he resumed the translation; and, in the following September he presented the Duchess with a complete copy. Now six months would be a very likely time for the translation and a fair copy to occupy; but it would have been impossible to have accomplished the printing also in that space of time, especially as the whole translation was finished before the first sheet was printed, as will be proved further on. We may also notice, that the duration of Caxton's stay at Cologne must be confined to a very short period, as his whole journey from and to Bruges occupied no more than six months.

"THE CHESS-BOOK" affords in the Prologue but very little room for comment, being, as will be seen on reference to the reprint at the end of this volume, for the most part a translation of the French Prologue, written by Jehan de Vignay for his work. It offers, indeed, one datum; but that is open to question in its application. "Fynysshid the last day of marche, 1474," are the concluding words of the Epilogue. But what was finished? The translation, or the printing? From the context it was probably only the translation, although the book would be printed not many months after. This date must also be advanced a year; for, as already noticed, the new year, in Flanders, did not commence till Easter-day, which fell in 1474 on April 10th; so that March 31st, 1474, was, according to the modern reckoning, March 31st, 1475.

Chronology of History, &c. page 47.

The Prologue to the second edition throws a little light on the history of the first. Caxton there says, in reference to his connection with the book: "....an excellent doctor of divinity....made a book of the Chess moralised, which, *at such time as I was resident in Bruges*, came into my hands.... And to the end that some which have not seen it, nor understand french nor latin, I deliberated in myself to translate into our

See Prologue to Chess-Book, 2nd edition.

A.D. 1470-75.

maternal tongue; and when I had so achieved the said translation, *I did do set in imprinte*,* a certain number of them which anon were depesshed and sold." Caxton here seems to mean that the printing followed closely upon the finish of the translation, and that both were performed in Bruges.

"LE RECUEIL" has but one date, and that evidently referring to the literary compilation alone, and affording no clue whatever to the period of printing. Indeed the numerous copies, still extant in manuscript, prove that the work enjoyed considerable popularity before it came under the hands of the printer. The date of this book has been fixed, by several writers, between 1464 and 1467, from the following considerations:—Le Fevre (the compiler) is spoken of, in the Prologue, as Chaplain to the Duke of Burgundy, and in such a manner as to signify that the Duke was then living. But in the translation, printed some few years later, there is a material difference: Le Fevre is not styled here as he was before, in the French, "Chapellain de mon tres redoubte signeur Monseigneur Phillipe le Duc," &c.; but "preest and chapelayn unto the right noble prince, *in his time*, Philip Duke of," &c. Philip, therefore, was not then alive: now he died in 1467; so that "Le Recueil", was printed before that time, but after the year 1464. That this should be considered as proving anything more than that the original French was compiled in the life-time of Philippe le Bon, and that when Caxton translated the same the Duke was dead, seems unaccountable. All the editions of "Le Recueil," both manuscript and printed, followed the verbiage, as originally written, and the printer would no more think of altering it in 1475-6 (which is the probable date of imprint), than the transcriber would in copying the same twenty-five years later. In the Imperial Library, Paris, is a manuscript of this very book written after 1500, but reproducing exactly that title which, in the printed edition, is considered to be a proof

Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, vol. I, page 3.

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* This phrase, "I did do set in imprinte" may, according to the idiom of that Century, be understood, "I did cause (by the hands of another) to be set in imprinte." The phrase was commonly used in this sense by Caxton, though not invariably so. Thus in "Jason" (fol. 22), "He dyd do be said to the messenger;" for "he caused to be said," &c. In "Chess-Book" (fol. 55), "The Emperor Fredericke dide do make a gate of marble." In the Prologue to "Jason," "The noble duke Philip did doo maken a chamber." In the "Canterbury Tales," (Prol. to "Monkes' Tale,")—

"I wot wel sche wol do me sle som day
Some neighebor and thanne renne away."

"Plain pouoir de prendre et *faire* prendre les larrons, murdriers," &c. (From an *Ordonnance*, dated June, 1401: and quoted by Paulin Paris, in his work on French Manuscripts. Similar examples might be added in plenty.

Les Manuscrits François, par A. Paulin Paris, 8vo, Paris, 1842, vol. V, page 2.

A.D. 1470-75.

of execution prior to 1467. Caxton, in his translation, altered and adapted the Prologue of Lefevre to suit his own time, but, in printing from the manuscript of another (assuming his connection with "Le Recueil,") he would have opposed the practice of his age had he altered his copy. His account was in its turn printed and reprinted, word for word, long after it was out of date.

There is, therefore, no reason whatever for asserting that "Le Recueil," written in 1464, was printed before "The Recuyell," translated in, and put to press soon after, 1471. In fact, the whole tone of Caxton's Epilogue to Book III of "The Recuyell," leads unquestionably to the conclusion that *that* was the very first time he had busied himself with typography. He would never say, "I have learned to ordain *this book* in printe at my great charge and expense," if he had already printed one or two others. To those who maintain the priority of "Le Recueil," there is but one explanation of the difficulty left: they must assume, with M. Bernard, that Caxton had nothing to do with the printing of "Le Recueil," which must have been executed before he turned his attention to the new art. That this opinion is untenable, and that the book was printed later than "The Recuyell," and probably later than the "Chess-Book," I shall endeavour to show.

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, vol. II, page 112.

The four remaining works are literally *sine ullâ notâ;* so that the whole of the evidence under this head may be shortly summed up thus: "The Recuyell" was translated in 1471, and was printed shortly after. The "Chess-Book" was printed after 1474, and probably in the latter half of 1475. "Le Recueil" was compiled in 1464; but, like the remaining four, affords no evidence of date of printing, which was probably after 1475.

II. We will now examine the testimony afforded by a comparison of the typographical peculiarities of these seven books. In collating "The Recuyell," the make-up of the sections, at the beginning of the volume, is worth noting. It was the general practice of Caxton, as of all printers, to commence the printing of his books at *the text*, which *he*, when using signatures, always began on a, any prologue or table, which might be requisite, being added afterwards in a separate section, with a different sort of signatures. These additions were nearly always placed at the beginning of the volume. When, however, the whole of the manuscript was complete before it came into the workmen's hands, there was no occasion for any such arrangement. This appears to have been the case in "The

A.D. 1470-75.

The Recuyell. See Epilogue to book III.

Recuyell," where nothing has been added to the beginning, as the *first* section of five sheets or ten leaves includes all the introductory matter, as well as a considerable portion of the text. Now, as the first page, which bears the date of the conclusion of the translation is on the same sheet as a portion of the text, it is evident that the whole volume, dates and all, must have been in manuscript before any part was printed. We may infer, indeed, that Caxton issued a few manuscript copies, from his own description of the effect so much writing had upon him. The copy he presented to the Duchess was undoubtedly manuscript; or, how in the print could he chronicle her acceptance of the work, and his reward for the present?* And this again leads to the supposition that the portion of the Epilogue relating to the typography, &c., was added by Caxton to his original manuscript when he printed the work. This apparent interpolation is marked, in the margin of our reprint, by a † at the beginning and end. Thus we may be certain that it was not till some time after September 19th, 1471, that the printing of " The Recuyell " was begun.

For exactly similar reasons, Caxton's Prologue to the "Chess-Book," which was a translation (or adaptation) of the original French before him, is also a portion of the first section in the volume. None of the other books under review have Prologues, so we will proceed to a comparison of some other typographical particulars.

No.	Title.	Size.	Type No.	No. of Lines in a page.	Measurement of Page. Inches.	Spacing of Lines.	Signatures.
1	The Recuyell	Folio	1	31	5 × 7⅜	uneven	none
2	The Chess-Book	Folio	1	31	5 × 7⅜	uneven	none
3	Le Recueil	Folio	1	31	5 × 7⅜	uneven	none
4	Les Fais du Jason	Folio	1	31	5 × 7⅜	even	none
5	Meditacions.....................	Folio	1	31	5 × 7⅜	even	none
6	Les 4^{tre} derrennieres choses..	Folio	2	28	5 × 7⅜	uneven	none
7	Propositio	4to	2	22		uneven	none

From this table we perceive,—

1st. That the first five books are printed with the same types; are all of

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Epilogue to "Destruction of Troy," 4to. London Bridge, 1684.

* In support of the opinion that Caxton first embraced the idea of printing, on account of the demand made upon his resources for copies of " The Recuyell," we may quote the Epilogue attached to nearly twenty editions of his translation even so late as 1702, at which period it was still very popular. This is only Caxton's account " with the English much amended by William Fiston " towards the end of the 16th Century; but it shows what the traditionary belief for more than a Century had been. " Now thus I am come to the finishing of this present book, which I have

A.D. 1470-75.

one size, viz., Folio; all without signatures; that all agree exactly as to the size of the page; and that the even length of the lines in "Meditacions," and "Les Fais du Jason," prove that they were later productions than the others.

2nd. That, therefore, the five books in Type No. 1 may be considered as the production of one printer.

But who was this printer? On turning our attention to the shape or cut of the letters in No. 1 Type, we notice a remarkable similarity between it and the appearance of the writing of many Bruges manuscripts of the same period, which would induce us, at first sight, to attribute their manufacture to some artist of that City.

On this point, however, our best witness is M. Bernard, who maintains the theory that Ulric Zel, of Cologne, procured Type No. 1, and printed with it in that City. In describing a manuscript in the Imperial Library, Paris, entitled, "La Penitence Adam," and written by Colard Mansion's own hand for his patron, Le Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, he writes, "Ce livre. . . . est un petit in-quarto écrit en ancienne bâtarde, à longues lignes, *parfaitement conformé au caractère du Recueil des Histoires des Troyes.*"—"This book is a small quarto, with long lines, written in old bâtarde, and of exactly the same character as "Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye." This opinion brings home the pattern, at least, of Type No. 1, to Colard Mansion of Bruges. Notwithstanding this, M. Bernard, with that strong national bias which has led him into several errors, claims the types of "Le Recueil" as the product of a *French* artist, and enforces the opinion by the *fact* that the only two water-marks found in the paper of the volume, are a crowned shield, with three fleurs de lis in the field, and a Gothic 𝔭, of which the tail is forked and the head

De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, &c. vol. II, page 393.

De l'Origine, &c. page 365.

translated (though rudely) out of French into English, at the commandment and request of my right gracious and redoubted Lady and Mistress, the Lady Margaret, Dutches of Burgony, Lotherick, and of Brabant, &c.; *and forasmuch as I am weary of tedious writing and worn in years, being not able to write out several books for the Gentlemen,* and such others as are desirous of the same, I have caused this book to be Printed: that being published the more plenteously mens turns may be more easily served. And as for the sundry Authors that have written, &c......And look what pleasure or commodity men reap by perusing this Book, let him transfer the praise and the thanks due therefore (next to Almighty God) unto my foresaid right gracious Lady, who not only caused me to undertake this translation, but hath also bountifully rewarded me for my labours. To whose good liking I humbly dedicate this work: beseeching her grace, and all that should read the same, to accept in good part my simple endeavour herein. And I most humbly pray unto Almighty God, that the example of these cruel wars and desolation of this famous city may be a warning to all other Cities and People to flee Adultery and all the other vices, the causes of Wars and Destruction: and that all Christians may learn to live godly and in Brotherly love and concord together, Amen."

A.D. 1470-75.

See the early books of Colard Mansion: also The Recuyell and Les 4$^{\text{tre}}$ derrennieres choses, at British Museum, and the Jason, at Eton.

surmounted by a quatrefoil; and that these marks are not found in "The Recuyell," and evince a *French* manufacture.* Unfortunately for M. Bernard's *facts*, the former mark *does* appear in "The Recuyell," as well as in "Les Fais du Jason," and "Les 4$^{\text{tre}}$ derrennieres choses," while the latter is one of the most common Flemish water-marks of the 15th Century, and makes a frequent appearance in the works of Mansion, Caxton, and many other printers both Flemish and English.

De l'Origine, &c. vol. II, page 112 and 365.

De l'Origine, &c. vol. page 375.

M. Bernard's theory, accounting for Caxton's possession of Type No. 1, is still more extraordinary. He imagines that Philippe le Bon, wishing to have some printed copies of "Le Recueil," employed *a Frenchman* to cut the types, and Ulric Zel to print from them: that afterwards the same printer used them for "Bartholomeus," and "Les Fais du Jason:" and that, on the death of the Duke, these types reverted to the Duchess, who, being friendly to Caxton, permitted him to use them for "The Recuyell" and "Chess-Book." This story is in diametrical opposition to Caxton's allusion to the great expense he incurred in ordaining "The Recuyell" in print; yet, upon some such theory must every account which ascribes *any* of these books to the Cologne press, be based.

The following are the grounds on which I maintain that none of these books were printed at Cologne.

In no respect can any typographical connection between the known productions of Zel's press, and these Flemish-looking books, be traced. Ulric Zel is never known to have used bâtarde-cut types, nor was his paper of the same manufacture as that found in the books under discussion. He printed, from an early period, two pages at a time; whereas "The Recuyell," as already proved in Chapter III, was

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De l'Origine, &c. vol. II, page 365.

* Pour moi, à voir la forme des types du Recueil des Histoires de Troyes, je suis convaincu qu'ils sont l'œuvre d'un Français, et que l'éditeur n'est autre que Philippe le Bon lui-même......Ce livre ayant été écrit par ordre du duc, il est tout naturel de penser qu'il a aussi été imprimé aux frais de ce prince. Voici un fait qui me semble corroborer cette opinion. Le papier employé à l'impression du livre de Raoul présente dans son filigrane deux signes seulement, et tous deux sont étrangers aux fabriques allemandes: l'un reproduit l'écusson ordinaire de France à trois fleurs de lis surmonté d'une couronne; l'autre un P gothique dont la haste se termine au bas en forme de fourche, et dont le haut est surmonté d'une espèce de fleur à quatre feuilles égales ayant la forme du trèfle. Les éditeurs fournissant généralement leur papier, ainsi que nous l'avons vu déjà, ne peut-on pas en conclure que celui de la première édition du Recueil de Raoul fut tiré de France, et peut-être même en partie fabriqué au compte du duc Philippe, dont la lettre initiale aurait été placée pour cela même dans le filigrane? Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que ces signes ne paraissent pas dans le papier de l'édition anglaise, imprimée après la mort du duc. On y trouve seulement une grappe de raisin, marque très-commune dans les livres imprimés en Allemagne, et qu'on voit déjà dans la Bible de Gutenberg.

printed, page by page, as were the books of Mansion, who even made a separate working of his woodcuts; Caxton, even when using the quarto size, cut up his paper into half sheets, and then, as with folios, printed in single pages. This accounts for the entire rejection by Mansion,* and the sparing use, by Caxton, of the quarto size for their publications, as it necessitated twice as much press-work as the larger size. But the strongest evidence is found in the fact that Zel, after 1467, always spaced out the lines of his books to an even length, and would have taught any one learning the art of him, to do the same; while, as already noticed, this improvement was not adopted by either Mansion or Caxton for many years.

See The "Ovide," (especially the copy at Lille) where the cuts *over-ride* the type.

See the "De singularitate Clericorum" Cologne 1467.

In truth, the more the books of the two presses are compared together, the stronger is the conviction that Zel's typographical customs were learnt in the original school of the Mentz printers, while the printer of these books in No. 1 Type was instructed in the Dutch school, of which Mansion was a pupil, and which, in its comparative rudeness, bears the plainest proofs of an independent origin, having been in all probability founded by the workmen of Coster.

But whatever may have been the origin of the typography of Mansion and Caxton, the opinion that either of them, after learning the art in an advanced school such as Cologne, would, without any necessity for so doing, adopt in their first productions primitive customs which they had never been taught, to return in after years by slow degrees to the rules of their original tuition, has only to be plainly stated to render it untenable.

The Cologne theory labours under great disadvantages. It has to account for the existence of five large works (six, including the "Bartholomeus") from the same types, and evidently from the same printer, three of which are in French, a language in which Caxton never at other times printed, and are without any addition from Caxton's pen, a habit in which he nearly always indulged at the early part of his career. The fact also of two works "Les Fais du Jason" and "Meditacions" having their lines spaced to an even length is sufficient evidence that, if Caxton printed these two, it must have been later than 1479, or more than two years after his settlement at Westminster.

See the Table at page 34, *ante*.

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* Van Praet errs in describing "Le purgatoire des mauvais Maris" as a "petit in-4°." The copy he described from was *ploughed* a little more than usual; but the water-mark *is in the middle of the page*, which proves the size to be folio.

Notice sur Colard Mansion, &c. page 57.

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See *ante*, p. 43.

Again then the question arises—Who was the printer? Undoubtedly it was Colard Mansion himself, who, as already shown, had established a press shortly after 1470 at Bruges—who cast the types on his own model for Caxton, and instructed him in the art while printing *with* and *for* him "The Recuyell" and "Chess Book"—who *certainly* printed "Les 4tre derrennieres choses," and probably "Propositio"—who supplied Caxton with his material for the establishment of a press in England—who, about the time of Caxton's departure, used the same Type, No. 1, for "Le Recueil," and who at a still later period printed alone "Les Fais du Jason" and "Meditacions."

These opinions may not at first be received with favour, but the more they are examined the stronger grow the proofs, and the reader is requested to withhold his verdict until he has given his careful attention to the following items of evidence:—

1. The connection between the hand-writing of Mansion and Type No. 1 has been already shown. The connection of Mansion's large bâtarde Type (Plate III) and No. 2 Type is equally plain. Indeed so identical are they *in character*, that, as surely as one may recognise the well-known handwriting of a friend, so surely may we declare that the same artist must have cut the punches for these two founts. Compare carefully Plate III, with the plates of Type No. 2, and, though differing considerably in size, no variation in design can be traced. Examine No. 2 through a magnifying glass, and you may well believe you are reading a book printed by Colard Mansion. But now look at a page of a treatise printed by Ulric Zel, and generally attributed to about the year 1470, and the antagonism between the two is evident. (Plate VII.)

Exposicio Henrici de Hassia super "Orationem Dominicam," &c. 4to. circa 1470.

2. Again on turning to "Les 4tre derrennieres choses," printed in Type No. 2 (the first fount used in England), a very striking connection with Colard Mansion is established. The peculiar appearance of the red ink at once attracts the attention. (Plate No. VIII.) Here, as in Colard Mansion (see *ante*, p. 43), the two colours have been plainly printed at the same pull of the press. Here too the same process of wiping the black ink off lines purposely isolated, and then re-inking with red, has been resorted to. Here too, as with the acknowledged productions of the Bruges press, the same defects have been produced; the red ink has a tarnished appearance from the subjacent remains of the black, and the black lines nearest the red have received a red edging which, however interesting as a connecting link between two celebrated printers, by no

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means increases their typographical beauty. Now, as no other printer is known to have resorted to this unique method of working in colours, I feel no hesitation in ascribing "Les 4^{tre} derrennieres choses" either to the press of Colard Mansion, or to Caxton working under his tuition; and as this peculiarity is nowhere found in Caxton's productions when in England, the former is the more likely conjecture. Of one thing we may be certain, that it was a method never practised by Ulric Zel, or the German school of printing.

It may almost be said that Caxton never used red ink; and the only three works connected with his name in which red ink appears, show separate printings for each colour. Of these "The Recuyell," as we have seen, could only have been partially executed by Caxton, while the "Directorium Sacerdotum," and the "De Transfiguracione" were printed towards the close of his career, and in all probability under the management of Wynken de Worde. In the two latter, the *register* is far from accurate.

3. The connection here established between the type used by Caxton in his first English attempts, and those of Colard Mansion, is further strengthened by the fact, that the peculiar form of the &c used in every book printed in Type No. 1, is in several instances found, by an evident oversight of the compositor, used instead of the proper &c̃. belonging to Type No. 2. We have here positive proof that, whether at Cologne or Bruges, or any other town, the two founts were *under one roof.* Whoever it was that printed the five books in No. 1, most certainly owned No. 2 Type also.

See The Life of Jason, Corydale, Dictes, 1st edit. Mirrour, 1st edit. Reynart, 1st edit. and others.

Upon what then have the supporters of the Cologne theory to rely?

1. There is the direct testimony of Wynken de Worde in their favour.

2. Colard Mansion did not begin to print till several years after the issue of "The Recueil," or about 1475.

As the latter objection has been answered in Chapter IV, where the date of Colard Mansion's "Primum Opus" has been proved to be about 1471, we will only here consider the first objection. In the Proheme to Wynken de Worde's undated edition of "Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum" he gives the following doggrel:—

Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum, circa 1495.

> "And also of your charyte call to remembraunce
> The soule of William Caxton first prȳter of this boke
> In laten tonge at Coleyn hȳself to auaũce
> That euery well disposyd man may theron loke."

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The phraseology of this verse is very ambiguous. Are we to understand that the *editio princeps* of "Bartholomeus" proceeded from Caxton's press; or that he only produced the first Cologne edition? that he issued a *translation* of his own, which is the only way in which the production of the work could advance him in the Latin tongue? or, that he printed in Latin to advance his own interests? The last seems the most probable reading. But though the words will bear many constructions, they evidently mean that Caxton printed "Bartholomeus" in some shape at Cologne. Now this seems to me a careless statement of Wynken de Worde; for if Caxton really did print "Bartholomeus" in that city, it must have been with his own types and presses, as the workmanship of his early volumes proves him to have been unconnected with any Cologne printer, whose practices were entirely different; a proceeding too improbable for serious consideration. The period necessary for the production of so extensive a work must have been considerable; and as the short stay of Caxton at Cologne on the occasion of his finishing the translation of "Le Recueil" has been already noticed, the printing of this apocryphal "Bartholomeus" must have been at a subsequent visit, of which no record remains. It is certain that no copy has yet been discovered, which can by any stretch of imagination be attributed to Caxton, although there is more than one old undated edition, produced by the German school of printing. Accuracy of information was not in those days much studied, and, to a general carelessness about names and dates, Wynken de Worde added a negligence peculiarly his own. We may excuse him for using Caxton's device in several books, which by their dates and their types are known to have been printed by himself; as well as for putting Caxton's name as printer to the 1493 edition of the "Golden Legend," two years after his master's death; such inaccuracies were thought little of at that time: but, how account for the blundering alteration in the 1495 edition of "Policronicon," where Wynken de Worde, making himself the speaker in Caxton's Prologue, promises to carry on the history to 1485; or the still greater error in the "Dictes and Sayings" of 1528, where, adopting Caxton's Epilogue, but changing Caxton's name into his own, he makes all the transactions there related between Earl Rivers and Caxton happen to himself? Blunders in statements are well matched by blunders in workmanship, of which, however, we will only quote two. In Caxton's edition of "Stans Puer ad mensam," the third and fourth pages of the poem were accidentally

See *ante.* page 47.

A copy in the Public Library, Cambridge.

transposed, but Wynken de Worde, notwithstanding the break of sequence, blindly reprints the error! and in his edition of "The Horse, the Shepe and the Ghoos," actually omits a whole page, without discovering his mistake! This is a heavy charge to bring against a printer who is generally and not unjustly considered as having greatly improved the art he practised; but other examples of carelessness might easily be adduced; and if accuracy of text were to be taken as the standard, independently of excellent workmanship, it is to be feared that Wynken de Worde would take a very low place in the rank of his contemporary typographers.* Being compelled to refuse credence to several of Wynken de Worde's statements, why should we receive his "Cologne" *dictum* without question, especially as the weight of evidence is all against it? Lewis was of opinion that Caxton did not print "Bartholomeus;" and the probability is, that Wynken de Worde (who was still living in 1534, and therefore too young in 1471 to have been acquainted with any such fact of his own knowledge) had some vague recollection of Caxton having been at Cologne, as noticed in the Prologue to "The Recuyell," and carelessly assumed the rest; the truth of the matter being of secondary importance to giving point and rhyme to his doggrel.†

Life of Wyllyam Caxton, &c. page 7.

The evidence in favour of and against the opinion that Caxton learnt his knowledge of printing at Cologne, may be summed up in a very few words:—

In favour of Cologne we have the above statement of Wynken de Worde, unsupported by any corroborative evidence. Against Cologne we have the facts:—that a printing press being already at work in the very city of Caxton's residence, there was no need for him to seek the necessary

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* William Caxton—except in the occasional interchange of *y* with *i*, which were at that period but one letter—never altered the orthography of his name, a fact the more noticeable as it certainly varied in pronunciation: not so Wynken de Worde, who, only using his master's name eight times, contrived to make four variations; Caxton—Caxston—Caston—and Caxon. In his own name Wynken de Worde appears to have tried how many variations he *could* invent: even the following list is not complete.

See *post*, page 64.

Wynken de Worde
Wynden de Worde
Wynkyn de Worde
Wynkyn Theworde
Wynkyn the Worde

Wynkyn de Word
Vvynkyn de worde
VVinquin de VVorde
Wynandum de Worde
Wynandum de word

winandum de worde
Vunandum de worde
(*Ex typis*)—Vuinandi de vuorde
VVinand i VVordensi
Winandi de Wordensis

† Lewis, talking of the above apocryphal edition of "Bartholomeus," says, "Its having a Latin title, might possibly deceive De Worde, and make him think it was printed in Latin. However this be, it does not appear that any edition of it, printed by Caxton or any one else, either in Latin or English this year [1471], is now in being."

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instruction in a distant town; the absence in Caxton's books of any typographical link between him and the Mentz School of Printers; and the total silence of Caxton himself on the point, if we except an indirect allusion in "Policronicon," presently to be noticed.

In favour of Bruges and Colard Mansion, we have,—

1. The direct connection of Caxton, with Type No. 1, through "The Recuyell," as acknowledged by himself; and the pattern of that Type traced to Colard Mansion.

2. The pattern of Caxton's Type No. 2 identified with Mansion's Gros-bâtarde.

3. The proof that "Les 4tre derrennieres choses" in Type No. 2 was actually printed by Mansion.

4. The evidence, from the mixture of types, that No. 1 and No. 2 were under the same roof.

5. The entire conformity in *all* typographical peculiarities of the presses of Colard Mansion and William Caxton.

Notice Sur Colard Mansion, &c. page 37.

See *ante*, page 46.

And, lastly, we may add, as a note, that a few years ago "Le Quadrilogue" by Mansion, and "Les Fais du Jason" (Type No. 1), were found bound together;* as were also the "Meditacions" (Type No. 1), and "Les 4tre derrennieres choses" (Type No. 2), both volumes having the same original 15th-Century binding, which they received soon after printing, and, as I believe, in the workshop of Colard Mansion, over the church-porch of St. Donatus, at Bruges.

Policronicon. Liber ult. cap. 28.

Before concluding this portion of our subject, it may be satisfactory to consider the meaning of a short notice of the invention of printing, written by Caxton himself in "Liber ultimus" of the "Policronicon," 1482. This is the more necessary, as it may be relied on by some as affording an indirect argument in favour of the Cologne theory. Caxton, narrating the events of the year 1456, thus expresses himself, "Also about this tyme the crafte of Enpryntyng was fyrst founde in magounce in Almayne/ whiche crafte is multiplyed thurgh the world in many places. & bookes ben had grete chepe and in grete nombre by cause of the same crafte" We have here Caxton's account of the popular belief of his age, and it is

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Bibliographical &c. Tour, edit. 1829, vol. II, p. 104.

* Dr. Dibdin, speaking of the "Fais du Jason" at the Imperial Library, Paris, recounts the following anecdote:—An unknown, and I may add an unknowing, person, bought this most exceedingly rare volume, with the "Quadrilogue of Alain Chartier" 1477, in one and the same ancient wooden binding, for the marvellously moderate sum of *one louis!* The purchaser brought the volume to M. de La Serna Santander, and asked him if he thought *two* louis too much for their value. That wary bibliographer only replied, "I do not think it is," and became the purchaser.

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undoubtedly the true one. The chief ramifications of the art through Europe sprang from one centre, Mentz. The Costerian school was very rude and unprolific while the Mentz Artists were establishing presses through all the southern Cities of Europe. Mentz is by most writers described as the birth-place of printing, because the art reached perfection there at so early a period. Now this, although the truth, does not seem to be the *whole* truth. *Coster was the first* to use moveable types, but never made much progress or practical use of the discovery; while only a few years later, the celebrated trio of Mentz printers produced, from an independent starting point, their *chefs-d'œuvre* of typography. This view is not only supported by one of the earliest writers on the subject, but by a printer who was contemporary with the occurrences he narrates; who himself learnt the art in Mentz; in fact, by the very man who has hitherto been supposed to have indoctrinated Caxton in the mysteries of typography; namely, Ulric Zel, of Cologne. The account of printing, as narrated by Zel to the anonymous writer of the "Cologne Chronicle," in 1499, is as follows:—

See Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. III, page 282.

"....In the year of our Lord MCCCCL, which was a golden year, then men began to print; and the first book printed was a Bible in Latin, and it was printed in a larger character than that with which we now print Mass-books. Item, although this art was discovered at Mentz at first in the manner in which it is now commonly used, *yet the first example of it was found in Holland, in the Donatuses, which were before printed there.* And thence is derived the beginning of this art; and it is more masterly and subtle than the ancient manner was, and by far more ingenious.... Item, from Mentz, the before-mentioned art at first came to Cologne, thence to Strasbourg, and thence to Venice. The beginning and progress of the before-mentioned art was told me by word of mouth, *by that worthy man Master Ulrich Tzell* of Hanault, printer at Cologne, in the present year MCCCCXCIX, by whom the before-mentioned art is come to Cologne."*

Bie Cronica van der hillige Stat van Coellen. Folio. Johan Koelhoff, Cologne, 1499. sign. gg ij, recto.

* "......Ind in den iairen vns heren do men schreyff. MCCCCl. do was eyn gulden iair/ do began men tzo drucken ind was dat eyrste boich dat men druckte die Bybel zo latijn,/ ind wart gedruckt mit eynre grouer schrifft. as is die schrifft dae men nu Mysseboicher mit druckt. Item wiewail die kunst is vonden tzo Mentz/ als vursz vp die wijse/ als dan nu gemeynlich gebruicht wirt, *so is doch die eyrste vurbyldung vonden in Hollant vyss den Donaten, die daeselffst vur der tzijt gedruckt syn.* Ind van ind vyss den is genommen dat begynne der vursz kunst. ind is vill meysterlicher ind subtilicher vonden dan die selue manier was, vnd ye lenger ye mere kuntstlicher wurden......Item van Mentz is die vursz kunst komen alre eyrst tzo Coéllen. Dairnae tzo Venedige. Dat begynne ind vortganck der vursz kunst hait myr muntlich vertzelt d'Eirsame man Meyster Ulrich tzell van Hanauwe, boichdrucker zo Coellen noch zertzijt. anno. MCCCCxcix, durch den die kunst vursz is zo Coellen komen."

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The statements of Zel and of Caxton do not appear to me contradictory. Caxton does not enter minutely into the early history of his art: he narrates it as one of the events of his times, just as he does the fall of Bow steeple, or the burning of a witch, or the capture of three great "whalys" at Erith: in fact, he gives the popular belief of his age. So also does the Cologne Chronicler, only fortunately for historical truth, he added thereto the then unimportant particulars of the prior use of the art at Haarlem.

And here, perhaps, I may be excused if, in the absence of sure foundation, I venture to build a brief history, founded in many parts on probability only, but which may nevertheless be welcome to some as drawing the scattered threads of Caxton's career between 1471 and his establishment at Westminster, into a consistent narrative.

Caxton having finished and been rewarded for his trouble in translating "Le Recueil" for the Duchess of Burgundy found his book in great request. The English Lords at Bruges began to require copies of this the most favourite romance of the age, and Caxton found himself unable to supply the demand with sufficient rapidity. We have now arrived at 1472-3. Colard Mansion, a skilful caligrapher, must have been known to Caxton, and may have been employed by him to execute commissions. Mansion, who had obtained some knowledge of the art of printing (certainly not from the Mentz school), had just begun his typographical labours at Bruges, and was ready to produce copies by means of the press, if supported by the necessary patronage and funds. Caxton found the money, and Mansion the requisite knowledge, and between them appeared the first book printed in the new type, which was at the same time the first book printed in the English language, "The Recuyell." This probably was not accomplished till 1474, and was succeeded on Caxton's part in another year, by an issue of the "Chess Book," which, as we are informed in a second edition, was "anone depesshed and solde." Mansion, finding that success attended the new undertaking, printed "Le Recueil," and later "Les Fais du Jason" and the "Meditacions," the two last after Caxton's return to England. The three French works were doubtless published by Mansion alone, as Caxton is not known, although perfectly acquainted with French, to have printed a single book in that language. Caxton, having printed at Bruges "The Recuyell" and the "Chess Book" with types either wholly or in part Mansion's, now employed Mansion to cut

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and cast him a new fount to the pattern of the large bâtarde already in use by Mansion, only smaller in size, with the intention of practising the art in England. As proofs of its capabilities, the speech of John Russell on the investiture of the Duke of Burgundy was produced; an oration which, from perpetuating a memorable occurrence, would always be as welcome to the Burgundian Court as to the English. That "Les 4^tre^ derrennieres choses" was also produced about this time under the immediate workmanship of Mansion, has been also shown.

And now, early in 1476, Caxton appears to have taken leave of the land of his adoption, and, after a residence of about thirty-five years, to have returned to his native country laden with a more precious freight than the most opulent Merchant Adventurer ever dreamt of, and to endow his Country with a blessing than which only one richer had ever been bestowed—the introduction of Christianity.

CHAPTER VI.

CAXTON AT WESTMINSTER.

Caxton's Settlement in England—Where was his Press erected?—The Abbot of Westminster—Connection of the Abbots with the Mercers' Company—The Wool-Staple at Westminster—The Guild of our Lady Assumption, and Caxton's connection therewith—The connection of this Guild with the Mercers' Company—Caxton's Patrons—William and Maude Caxton—Caxton's Death, and Character.

A.D. 1476-7.

IN the foregoing Chapters we have endeavoured to trace Caxton's career as an Apprentice, as a Merchant, as Governor of the Merchant Adventurers at Bruges, as a Magistrate, and as an Ambassador; we have tried to sketch rapidly, with imperfect materials, the revival of literary tastes in Europe, as shown by the steady increase of books, and we have seen Caxton in Bruges surrounded by literary influences; we have noted the successful merchant relinquishing his mercantile pursuits in order to devote the remainder of his days to the spread of literature in his native land; we have told of the encouragement he received from the Duchess of Burgundy; of the demand which sprang up for his translations among his countrymen; and we have seen him obliged to have recourse to the new Art of Printing, which at that time was practised by Colard Mansion at Bruges. But we have yet to describe the most important period of his history—those last fifteen years to which all his former life seems but an introduction—that short period which alone has engraved the name of Caxton on the tablets of history, and the typographical relics of which form the best and only memorial which England possesses of her first printer.*

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* There is the Roxburghe Tablet in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster; and, better still, there will be, in 1861, a "*Caxton Pension*" in connection with the "Printers' Pension Society," by which the wants of some afflicted successor in Caxton's Art and Craft will be alleviated; but a memorial worthy of the name of our first Printer, or at all commensurate with his claims upon his countrymen, has never yet been attempted. For particulars of various "Caxton Memorial" efforts, see Note *g*.

A.D. 1476-7.

We left Caxton early in 1476, after disposing of his printed copies of "The Chess-Book," in Bruges, preparing to return to England. The next certain notice of him is, after his settlement at Westminster, when, in November, 1477, he had printed his first edition of the "Dictes and Sayings." This book in fact is the earliest we have from Caxton's press, with an indisputable imprint. But it is evident that his arrangements for settling in England, the engagement of assistants, with all the other matters inseparable from a novel undertaking, must have occupied a considerable portion of time. If therefore we assume, that about the latter half of 1476, Caxton commenced his new career in this Country, we cannot be far wrong. That Westminster was the locality in which Caxton first settled, there is fortunately no room to dispute, as the numerous Colophons to his works are unanimous on the point; but as the *exact spot* has given rise to considerable discussion, it may be useful, before forming an opinion, to collect all the instances in which Caxton connects his own name, with a definite locality. We therefore append the following extracts *verbatim et literatim*:—

1477. DICTES AND SAYINGS. First Edition. Epilogue. *enprynted by me william Caxton at westmestre.*

1478. MORAL PROVERBS. Colophon. *I haue enprinted the....At westmestre.*

1480. CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND. First Edition. Colophon. *enp̃nted by me William Caxton Jn thabbey of westmynstre by london.*

1480. DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN. First Edition. Prologue. *the comyn cronicles of englond ben....now late enprinted at westmynstre.*

1481. MIRROUR OF THE WORLD. First Edition. Prologue. *And emprised by me....to translate it into our maternal tongue....in thabbay of westmestre by london.*

1481. REYNARD THE FOX. First Edition. Epilogue. *by me will'm Caxton translated....in thabbey of westmestre.*

1481. GODEFROY OF BOLOGNE. Epilogue. *sette in forme and emprynted....in thabbay of westmester.*

1483. PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL. Colophon. *Enprynted at westmestre by william Caxton.*

1483. LIBER FESTIVALIS. First Edition. Colophon. *Emprynted at Westmynster by wyllyam Caxton.*

1483. QUATUOR SERMONES. First Edition. Colophon. *Enprynted by Wylliam Caxton at Westmestre.*

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1483. Confessio Amantis. Colophon. *Enprynted at westmestre by me willyam Caxton.*

1483. Golden Legend. First Edition. Epilogue. *fynysshed it at westmestre.*

1483. Caton. Colophon. *Translated....by William Caxton in thabbey of Westmynstre.*

1483. Knight of the Tower. Colophon. *enprynted at Westmynstre.*

1484. Æsop. Epilogue. *emprynted by me william Caxton at westmynstre in thabbay.*

1484. The Order of Chivalry. Epilogue. *translated....by me William Caxton dwellynge in Westmynstre besyde london.*

1485. King Arthur. Colophon. *enprynted and fynysshed in thabbey westmestre.*

1485. Paris and Vienne. Colophon. *translated....by wylliam Caxton at Westmestre.*

[1489]. Directorium Sacerdotum. Colophon. *Impressum....apud Westmonesteriū.*

1489. Doctrinal of Sapience. Colophon. *translated....by wyllyam Caxton at Westmestre.*

To these must be appended Caxton's Advertisement, printed about 1477-80.

See a facsimile in Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, vol. I, p. cii.

"If it plese ony man spirituel or temporel to bye ony pyes of two and thre comemoraciōs of salisburi vse enpryntid after the forme of this presēt lettre whiche ben wel and truly correct, *late hym come to westmonester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale* and he shal haue them good chepe."

The following are from Titles or Colophons to books printed by Wynken de Worde in the house of his late master, only two of which are dated.

Scala Perfectionis, 1493:—

And Wynkyn de Worde this hath sett in print.
In William Caxstons hows so fyll the case.

Lyndewode's Constitutiones, 1496:—*Apud Westmonasterium. In domo caxston.*

The xij profytes of tribulacyon. *Enprynted at Westmyster in Caxtons hous.*

Donatus minor. *In domo Caxton in westmonasterio.*

Whitals Dictionary. *Imprynted in the late hous of William Caxton.*

Accedence. *Prynted in Caxons* (sic) *hous at westmynstre.*

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The Chorle and the Byrde. *Emprynted at westmestre in Caxtons house.*

Doctrynalle of dethe. *Enprynted at westmynster Jn Castons* (sic) *hous.*

Ortus Vocabulorum. *prope celeberrimum monasterium quod westmynstre appellatur impressum.*

If we add to the foregoing the testimony of Stow, we shall have before us all the evidence of any authority.

A Survay of London, 4to. 1598, p. 476.

" Neare vnto this house westward, was an old chappel of S. Anne; ouer against the which the Lady Margaret mother of king H. the 7. erected an almes-house for poore women....the place wherein this chappel and Almes house standeth, was called the Elemosinary or Almory, now corruptly the Ambry, for that the Almes of the Abbey were there distributed to the poore. And therin Islip, Abbot of Westmin. erected the first Presse of booke printing that euer was in England about the yeare of Christ, 1471. William Caxton, cittizen of London mercer brought it into England, and was the first that practised it in the sayde Abbey."

Æsop. 1483. Order of Chivalrye, 1484. King Arthur, 1485.

In reviewing the foregoing quotations it may be noticed, that although the precise expression, *Printed in the Abbey of Westminster*, is affixed to some books, yet the more general phrase *Printed at Westminster* being used alternately, evidently refers to the same locality, otherwise we must suppose Caxton to have carried on two separate Printing offices for many years. The word "Abbey" did not assume its modern sense, as applying only to the building itself, until after the Reformation; and the phrase "dwelling at Westminster," used in 1484, just *after* "printed in the Abbey," 1483, and *before* "printed in the Abbey," 1485, proves that Caxton himself attached no very restrictive idea to the word. We find also, from the advertisement just quoted, that "Westminster" meant in that instance "The Almonesrye,"* where Caxton occupied a tenement called "The Red-pale," for the purposes of his trade. The Almonry was a space within the Abbey precincts, used for distributing charity to the poor. Here the Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII, and one of Caxton's supporters, built alms-houses. Other houses were also there, for Caxton, who was a man of importance in the parish (as will be shown presently), cannot be supposed to have resided for fifteen years in a house of charity. We must conclude, therefore, that by *in the Abbey*, Caxton meant nothing more than within the Abbey precincts.

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* "Almones" the old form of the modern "Alms." "Almones-rye," the place of Alms.

A.D. 1476-7.

Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, vol. I, page cii.

William Caxton, a biography by C. Knight, 12mo. London, 1844, page 141.

Caxton, and the Art of Printing, 12mo. London, [1852], page 73.

The position of St. Anne's Chapel and the Almonry, relative to the Abbey Church, seems misunderstood by all the biographers of Caxton. Dr. Dibdin places them on the spot where stands the Chapel of Henry VII, which is of course the *east* end of the Abbey: so do Knight and later writers. The Almonry was considerably to the *west*, and the following statements, gathered from Stow, will give its exact locality. After describing the Monastery and King's Palace, he says, "now will I speake of the gate house, and of Totehill streete, stretching from the *west* part of the Close....The gate towards the *west* is a Gaile for offenders, &c..... On the *Southside* of this gate, king H. the 7. founded an almeshouse, &c.....Neare vnto this house *westward* was an old chappel of S. Anne, &c.....the place wherein this chappel....standeth was called the Almory," &c. The Almonry was therefore *west-south-west* of the Abbey Towers.

Dibdin, cii, as above.

It has been argued, that Caxton was permitted by the Abbot to use the "Scriptorium" of the Abbey as a printing office. Printing, even in these days of improvement, is necessarily in some parts a very unclean operation, but it was much more so in its earlier state, some of the processes being extremely filthy and pungent. The Abbot of Westminster would never have admitted into the Scriptorium anything so defiling, much less within the sacred walls of the Church itself. There is indeed no evidence that the Abbey had a portion appropriated as a scriptorium: no mention of such a place is made by any local historian, nor has any manuscript been recognised as having issued thence.

An history of Westminster Abbey, chiefly from Manuscript Authorities, by Richard Widmore, M.A. London, 4to. 1751, page 117.

The Abbot, at the time of Caxton's arrival in England, was John Esteney, who succeeded to that office in 1474, and in 1498 was promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford. Thomas Millyng, his predecessor, was elected Abbot in 1469, and died in 1474; and those writers, who maintain that Caxton came to England before 1474, have mentioned Millyng as his patron. George Fascet succeeded Esteney in 1498, and on his death in 1500 John Islip was elected Abbot. Stow's chronology is very erroneous in ascribing to Abbot Islip any connection with Caxton, whose death occurred about nine years before the election of Islip.

There is nothing to lead to the supposition that Caxton and Abbot Esteney were on intimate terms; indeed the probability is, that they knew little of each other. Our printer mentions him but once, and that casually, as illustrating the difficulty which even educated men found in deciphering documents of the previous age. In the Prologue to

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"Eneydos," he says, "My lord abbot of Westmynster *did do shewe* to me late certayn euydences wryton in old Englisshe, for to reduce it into our Englisshe now vsid," &c. The sense of "did do," as already noticed, would seem to signify merely "caused to be done," that is, the Abbot only *sent* the "certayn euidences" to Caxton. Caxton always appears to have narrated, in prologue or epilogue, the names of those by whom he was employed, and had he received any amount of favour or patronage from the Abbot, he would in all likelihood have dedicated one of his numerous translations to him, as he did to so many of his patrons, some of whom were plain "Mercers" only.*

See page 48, *ante*.

On the whole, therefore, it is unlikely that Caxton went to Westminster by invitation of the Abbot, or that he occupied any place within the church itself, or that he held any relationship to the Abbot other than that of tenant. The rent-roll of the Abbey was under the immediate charge of the Abbot's Chamberlain, and with *him* Caxton would have to agree as to his tenure of "The Red-pale" in the Almonry.

The reason of Caxton's preference for the Almonry is not at all evident, though his being a Mercer may, possibly, have had some influence on his choice, as the Mercers' Company held certain tenements of the Abbots of Westminster. Divers of these were in the parish of St. Martin Otewich (Broad Street Ward), within the City walls, and there was also a tenement called "The Pye," and another called "The Grehounde," the localities of which are not mentioned. The rents paid for these are duly entered in the "Renter Wardens' Account-books" at Mercers' Hall. But whatever induced Caxton to settle at Westminster, we may safely infer, as he mentions not more than two or three years later "The Red-pale" as his house, that it was there he originally established himself; that there his translations were made and works printed; and that there, surrounded by his books and presses he breathed his last. Nor was the flow of literature from "The Red-pale" stopped by the death of Caxton; his successor, as we have already noticed, printed several books in the same place, dating them "from Caxton's house in Westminster." The phrase "a house in Westminster" was considered, by the early biographers of Caxton, as proving that he migrated from the side chapel where they assume he first set up his press, and established himself in a new residence. Bagford, with his usual fertility of invention, fixes the very street and house into

Mercers' Records.
Auth. C 1, 2, & 3.

Auth. C 4.

Auth. C 8.

See page 64, *ante*.

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* *e. g.* Hugh Bryce and William Praat.

A.D. 1476-7.

Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1846.

William Caxton, &c., page 148.

Monument to Caxton. Five Letters by Richard Clark. London, 1847. 16mo.

which he moved, and assigns reasons for his ejection from the Abbey. For a number of years an old house in the Almonry was currently believed to have been that inhabited by our first printer, but Mr. Nichols, who, as well as Knight, gives a wood-cut of it, proved that the house could not be older than the time of Charles II. Upon its fall or demolition in 1846, portions of the beams were made into walking-sticks and snuff-boxes, and presented to various patrons of literature as genuine relics of the famous printer. Interesting, indeed, would it have been could we identify the exact spot where the first press on English soil was placed; still more so could we have stood in the very room where Caxton worked; but uncertainty hangs over all this part of our history, and we only know that new buildings, not far from the great west door of the Abbey, are now covering the space where the old "reed pale in the almonestre" probably stood.

Mercers' Records. Auth. C 8.

We have already mentioned "The Greyhound" as being tenanted by the Mercers' Company under the Abbots of Westminster. From the same "Account-book," it appears that in 1477 the "livelihode" made a "visitation," and "kept a dinner" at "The Greyhound," which cost them 26s 8d, besides 2d for washing the table-cloth. There is nothing to indicate the locality of this tenement; but from the fact that Mercers, as well as Drapers, dealt largely in cloth and various woollen goods, they would necessarily be much interested in the great Staple of Wool, held at fixed intervals, not far from the Abbey walls.* In this case they would require a place in the neighbourhood for meeting during the visitation of their members, which would afford them, at the same time, good accommodation for a dinner at the close of the mart.

A Survey of London, 4to. 1598, p. 466.

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. L.

And here we may notice that, although devoting so much of his attention to translating and printing, Caxton probably still took considerable interest in his old vocation. The Wool-Staple at Westminster was an important mart, and many of the merchants resorting there were fellow-mercers and benefactors to St. Margaret's Church. Some of them were also fellow-members, with Caxton, of the "Fraternity or Guild of our Blessed Lady Assumption." Several of the "Account-books" of this fraternity are still preserved in the vestry of St. Margaret's; and although they do not anywhere state the object of the guild, it seems, from the entries of salaries paid to several priests; from money spent in wax,

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* Stow says the Abbots of Westminster had six Wool-houses in the Staple granted them by King Henry VI.

A.D. 1477-9.

obits, vestments, &c.; and from the granting of a few pensions, to have been something like the "benefit societies" of the present day, with the additional advantage of *post mortem* prayers for the deceased members. And yet, if only a religious guild, one does not see why they required certain tenements in Aldermary, which they leased of the Mercers' Company, not far from the Steel Yard of the Hanse merchants, where large quantities of raw wool were stapled. But whatever the nature of this guild, their accounts, made up by their clerk every three years, show that, towards the end of the 15th Century, they were in a flourishing state, with a good balance on the right side; and, on Midsummer-day, they too had a "general feast," on which they spent a large portion of their income. The expenses of these lavish feasts, each filling at least two folio pages, are entered with great minuteness in the Accounts, from the amount paid to the "chief cok" as a reward (which was more than twelve guineas of modern money), down to the boat-hire for the "turbuts," and nearly £4 for "pottes broken and wasted at the same fest." Of this guild Caxton was a member for some years before his death.

Mercers' Records. Auth. C 7.

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. L 4.

It is pleasant to think of our Printer still retaining the friendship of the City merchants after all official relationship between them was dissolved. That he did so, his warm eulogy of the City of London, and his continuance as a member of the Mercers' Company, tend to prove. He probably had many personal friends and supporters among them; indeed it were hardly a stretch of the imagination to fancy that, during the holding of the Staple at Westminster, Caxton was by no means an uninterested observer; and that at its close, when the Wardens and the "livelihode" flocked to the "dener kept at the grehounde," if not there by right as a liveryman of the Mercers' Company, the Printer would be always a welcome guest. Surely, before parting, one of the drinking pledges, in remembrance of past associations and services would be, "The health of William Caxton, late Governor of our Fellowship, beyond the sea."

Prologue to Caton, 1483.

But to return to facts. There is no doubt that Caxton, when he printed the "Dictes" of 1477, was residing in his tenement in the Almonry; he would, therefore, be in the Parish of St. Margaret; and it is rather a curious fact, that some one bearing the same name was buried in that parish about two years later. In 1479 the Parochial Records show an entry among the Receipts of the Burial Fees, of twenty pence for two torches and three tapers, at a low Mass, for *William Caxton*. Dibdin assumes this to have been our Printer's father: it is

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. K 3.

A.D. 1477-90.

possible, but there is no evidence of kindred. We may notice, however, that although the amount paid may sound trifling to modern ears, it was more than double the average burial fees of that period, as is evidenced by the Accounts. About this time the King ordered a payment of £30 (equal to £300 or £400 now) to be made to Caxton for "certain causes or matters performed by him for the said Lord the King." Was this for assistance to Edward IV and his retinue, when fugitives at Bruges? or was it in some way connected with the introduction of printing to England? The reader must, in the absence of evidence, choose his own solution. In 1490 died, and was buried at St. Margaret's, one "Mawde Caxton," of whose relationship to William Caxton there is no evidence.

Issue Roll of the Exchequer. Auth. J.

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. K 6.

Caxton, as might be expected, held a high position in his parish; and, within a very short time of his arrival, his name was appended to the Parish Accounts, as Auditor.

Auth. K 5.

The Parish Audit seems to have been a simple affair. It was open to all the Parishioners, and was, probably, read aloud by the Clerk who was engaged by the Churchwardens to keep their accounts. The balance in cash, and the custody of the "treasures" in the church, were then handed over to the in-coming Wardens, and the names of the most respectable of the Parishioners present were added by the Clerk to the usual form, declaring the correctness of the accounts. The business, on these occasions, was fitly concluded by a good "supper." Caxton's name appears annexed to the audit for the years 1478-80, 1480-2, 1482-4; and it would have been most gratifying to discover that the signatures at the end of these and other accounts, were genuine autographs: but all the names are in the same hand-writing, which is that of the Scribe or Priest engaged to keep the Parish Books.

Auth. K 8.

Maria von Burgund und Margarethe von York, von Dr. Ernst Münch, Leipzig, 2 vols. 8vo. 1832, vol. II, pages 15-53.

In 1480, the Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, visited England, and perchance may have paid a visit to her old servant at the "Red-pale."

Caxton did not enter upon his new adventure of printing books without good and able patronage. Edward IV, as we have seen, paid him a sum of money for certain services performed; and Caxton printed "Tully" and "Godefroy" under his "protection." The King's sister, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, was his friend and supporter, as was also Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, mother of King Henry VII. The Earl of Warwick must have had some knowledge of him, as Caxton dedicated to him his "Chess-Book." Earl Rivers, brother to the Queen, was his fast friend, with whom Caxton seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of intimacy. The "Order of Chivalry" was dedicated to Richard III. Henry VII personally desired Caxton to translate and print "Faits of Arms;" and "Eneydos" was specially presented to Arthur, Prince of Wales. Maister William Daubeny, King Henry VI's treasurer, was his "good and synguler friend." William, Earl of Arundel, took great interest in his progress, and allowed him the "yearly fee" of a buck in summer, and a doe in winter. Sir John Fastolf, Bart, a great lover of books, Hugh Bryce, Mercer and King's Ambassador, William Praat, a rich Mercer, and divers unnamed "gentylmen and ladyes," are known to have employed him. Some of these engaged him to translate as well as to print, like the "noble lady with many faire doughters," for whom he produced "The Knyght of the Toure."

The history of Caxton, after his settlement at Westminster, is almost confined to a Catalogue of the productions of his Press. Fortunately many were printed from his own manuscript, and have additions which often afford the date of translation or printing. The Table over-leaf presents an arrangement of these, from which we obtain some idea of the time occupied in translating and printing. The majority of his works, however, bear no date whatever; and here the only basis of a correct arrangement must be the result of a careful examination and comparison of peculiarities in the various types. The chronology of the undated books, with an annual Register of work accomplished, will therefore be more fitly introduced after the Essay on Caxton's types and workmanship, with which it is intended to commence the second volume of this work.

In the ensuing Table a variation may be noticed from some of the dates as *printed* by Caxton; but these are only apparent discrepancies caused by the difference between the old and new style of reckoning the year, and also by the custom, then so common, of dating by the regnal year of the Sovereign.

From the same Table, it appears that Caxton took ten weeks for the translation of the "Mirrour of the World," containing 198 pages; twelve weeks for "Godefroy of Bologne," 284 pages; and nearly six months for "Fayts of Arms," 286 pages. The period occupied in printing "Cordyale," 152 pages, was only seven weeks; for "Godefroy," supposing the printing immediately to follow the completion of the translation, it was nearly six months; and for "Knight of the Tower," 208 pages, it was eight months; "Charles the Great," 188 pages, five and a half

A.D. 1477-90. months; "Paris and Vienne," 70 pages, three and a half months; "Good Manners," 132 pages, eleven months; and for "Fayts of Arms," 286 pages, more than a year.

DATES.	TRANSLATION.		PRINTING.	
	Begun.	Ended.	Begun.	Ended.
1477—Nov. 18	....	....	....	Dictes, 1st edition
1478—Feb. 20	....	....	....	Moral Proverbs
1479—Feb. 3	....	....	Cordyale	....
Mar. 24	....	....	....	Cordyale
1480—Apr. 22	....	Ovid, 15th Book...	....	....
June 10	....	....	....	Chronicles, 1st ed.
Aug. 18	....	....	....	Description, 1st ed.
1481—Jan. 2	Mirrour, 1st edit.	....	....	....
Mar. 8	....	Mirrour, 1st edit...	....	....
Mar. 12	Godefroy	....	....	....
June 6	....	Reynart, 1st edit...	....	....
June 7	....	Godefroy	....	....
Aug. 12	....	....	....	Tully
Nov. 20	....	....	....	Godefroy
1482—July 2	....	Policronicon	....	....
Oct. 8	....	....	....	Chronicles, 2nd ed.
1483—June 1	....	Knight of the Toure	....	....
———	....	Æsop	....	....
June 6	....	....	....	Pylgremage
June 30	....	....	....	Festivalis
Sept. 2	....	....	....	Confessio
Nov. 20	....	....	....	Golden Legend
Dec. 23	....	Caton	....	....
1484—Jan. 31	....	....	....	Knight of the Toure
Mar. 26	....	....	....	Æsop
———	....	....	....	Order of Chivalry
Sept. 13	....	Ryal..................	....	....
1485—June 18	....	Charles	....	....
July 31	....	....	....	King Arthur
Aug. 31	....	Paris and Vienne	....	....
Dec. 1	....	....	....	Charles
Dec. 19	....	....	....	Paris and Vienne
1486—June 8	....	Good Manners ...	....	....
1487—May 11	....	....	....	Good Manners
1489—Jan. 23	Fayts	....	....	....
May 7	....	Doctrinal............	....	....
July 8	....	Fayts	....	....
———	....	....	....	Directorium, 2nd ed.
1490—June 15	....	Art and Craft	....	....
June 22	....	Eneydos	....	....
July 14	....	....	....	Fayts

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The following is a classified list of all the works at present known to have been printed by Caxton at Westminster. Several of these have been discovered within the last few years, and are entirely unknown to the bibliographical world. The books which Caxton tells us he was commissioned to print, are in *italics*:—

RELIGION.—Psalterium, &c.; Horæ (two editions); Infancia Salvatoris; Golden Legend (three editions); Liber Festivalis (two editions); Quatuor Sermones (two editions); *Cordyale, or the Four last Things;* Speculum Vitæ Cristi (two editions); *The Royal Book;* The Doctrinal of Sapience; The Chastising of God's Children; Divers Ghostly Matters; Art and Craft to die well; The Fifteen O's; Bedside Prayers; Tractatus de Transfiguracione; A Treatise of Love; Pilgrimage of the Soul; An Indulgence; and Directorium Sacerdotum (three editions).

MORALITY.—Chess-Book; *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,* (three editions); *Moral Proverbs;* Boethius; Tully of Old Age and Friendship, &c.; *Knight of the Tower;* Caton; *Book of Good Manners;* and Curial.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.—The Chronicles of England (two editions); Description of Britain; Policronicon; and Siege of Rhodes; Lives of SS. Elizabeth of Hungary, Catherine of Sienne, and Wenefryde.

POETRY.—Canterbury Tales (two editions); Troilus and Cresida; Book of Fame; and several minor Poems, by Chaucer. The Werkes of Sapience; Life of our Lady; and some minor Poems, by Lydgate. Confessio Amantis, by Gower.

ROMANCE.—Life of Jason; Godefroy of Bologne; *The Order of Chivalry;* King Arthur; Paris and Vienne; Blanchardine and Eglantine; Virgil's Æneid; *Fayts of Arms;* The Four Sons of Aymon; *Charles the Great.*

MISCELLANEOUS.—*The Mirror of the World* (two editions); Æsop's Fables; Reynart the Fox (two editions); French and English Vocabulary; Statutes; The Governayle of Health.

Caxton's own translations in this country were—Jason; Mirror; Reynart; Godefroy; Golden Legend; Caton; Knight of the Tower; Æsop; Order of Chivalry; Royal Book; Charles the Great; Paris and Vienne; Good Manners; Doctrinal; Fayts; Art and Craft; Eneydos; Curial; St. Wenefryde; Blanchardine; Four Sons of Aymon; and Governayle of Health. These make more than 4,500 printed pages. The total produce of his Press, not reckoning the books printed at Bruges, reaches to above

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See page 75, *post.*

18,000 pages, nearly all folio size. These figures speak louder than any argument for the great industry and perseverance of Caxton; and indeed to this list we must add the translation of "Vitas Patrum," which he did not live to print, although he managed to finish the translation but a few hours before his death.

Gibbon, as below.

Those writers who have blamed Caxton for not choosing the Bible, or at least the standard works of classic times for the use and instruction of his countrymen, have quite overlooked the impossibility of making a business profitable (and Caxton tells us, in "Charles the Great," that he earned his living by it), unless it supplied the wants of the Age. The demand in England was not *then* for Bibles in the vernacular, nor for Horace or Homer, whose writings very few could read in the original: * but the Clergy wanted Service-books, and he provided them with Psalters, Commemorations, and Directories: the Preachers wanted Sermons, and were supplied with the Golden Legend, and similar books: the "prynces, lordes, barons, knyghtes & gentilmen" were craving for "joyous and pleysaunt historyes" of Chivalry, and the Press at the "Red-pale" produced a fresh Romance nearly every year. Poetry and history require for their appreciation a more advanced mental education, and of these, therefore, the issue was more scanty: but in this way, by bringing his commercial experience to bear, and by suiting the supply to the demand, while at the same time in no slight degree directing the channel in which it should flow, Caxton contrived to earn an honest living by the produce of his press, and avoided the fate of his typographical brethren at Rome, Sweynheim and Pannartz, who, having printed too many works of the Classic Authors (about 12,000 volumes in five years), became bankrupt, and sank under the dead weight of their numerous unsold volumes.

See the Appeal to the Pope, by the Bishop of Aleria, as quoted by every writer on the history of Printing.

Thus, in the selection of books for his press, some of which he obtained "with grete instaunce, labour, and coste"—in translating and printing—in friendly communication and intercourse with the best educated men of his day—and in the fulfilment of the social duties of his position—Caxton

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From the Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq. 5 vols. 8vo, London, 1814, vol. III, page 563.

* The historian Gibbon regrets that, in the choice of his Authors, Caxton "was reduced to comply with the vicious taste of his readers; to gratify the nobles with treatises on heraldry, hawking [*Caxton printed nothing of the sort*], and the game of Chess; and to amuse the popular credulity with romances of fabulous Knights and legends of more fabulous Saints. The father of printing expresses a laudable desire to elucidate the history of his country; but instead of publishing the latin chronicle of Radulphus Higden [*which very few could have read*] he could only venture on the English version by John de Trevisa......the world is not indebted to England for one *first* edition of a classic author!"

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passed the few remaining years of his life. In 1491, close upon seventy years of age, but still in mental vigour, he undertook the translation of "Vitas Patrum." Whether disease at this time was gradually undermining his health, or whether, as seems more probable from the following Colophon, he was taken off suddenly, is unknown; but it is an interesting fact that he was spared to work at his favourite task of translation till within a few hours of his death.

The following is Wynken de Worde's Colophon to the "Vitas Patrum:"—"Thus endyth the moost vertuouse hystorye of the deuoute and right renowned lyves of holy faders lyuynge in deserte, worthy of remembraunce to all wel dyspōsed persones which hath bē translated oute of Frenche into Englisshe by William Caxton of Westmynstre late deed and fynysshed at the laste daye of hys lyff."

The date of his death is not known with accuracy; but it is entered in the Parish Accounts for 1490-2, and, from the position of the entry, would appear to have been towards the close of the year 1491. This date is confirmed by the following manuscript note quoted by Ames:—"There is wrote down in a very old hand in a *Fructus Temporum* of my friend Mr. Ballard's, of Cambden, in Gloucestershire:—'Of your charitee pray for the soul of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, that in hys tyme was a man of moche ornate and moche renommed wysdome and connyng, and decessed ful crystenly the yere of our Lord MCCCC LXXXXJ.'"

Ames's Typ. Ant. page 73.

"Moder of Merci shyld hym fro thorribul fynd,
And bryng hym to lyff eternall that neuyr hath ynd."

He was buried in his own Parish Churchyard; and in the Account-books of the Churchwardens, appear the following funeral charges:—

St. Margaret's Records. Auth. K 6.

Itm̃ atte Bureyng of William Caxton for iiij torches	vj s viij d
Itm̃ for the belle atte same bureyng	vj d

These rates are considerably above those paid by the majority of the parishioners, and are equalled in a very few instances; another evidence of the superior position held by our Printer in his parish.

Caxton's property was probably little more than his stock in trade. He left a Will, however, to which letters of administration must have issued, as fifteen copies of the *Golden Legend* are recorded in the Parish Accounts as having been "bequothen to the chirch behove by William Caxton." The *Golden Legend* was first printed in 1483, but the second edition, of which the bequest probably consisted, was not executed till five

Auth. K 7, 8, 9.

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St. Margaret's Records. Auth. K 7.

or six years later. By the Churchwardens' Account for 1496-8, it appears, that by that time they had disposed of three copies: one for 6s 8d, and one for 6s 4d, by the agency of William Ryolle; and one for 6s 8d to the Parish Priest, probably for his own use. In the next two years William Geiffe took five copies at an average of 5s 4d each; John Crosse one copy at 5s 8d; Walter Marten one at 5s 11d; and Daniel Aforge one at 5s 10d; a ninth being sold in "Westmynster halle" for 5s 8d. This should have left remaining in 1500, *four* copies to be accounted for, but the "Memorandum" only acknowledges *three;* so probably one copy had been appropriated by the Churchwardens to the use of their Church. Two more were sold in the ensuing two years, leaving one still unaccounted for.

It would have been highly gratifying to have discovered the above Will or its copy, as it would probably settle satisfactorily many questions about Caxton's family and relations. All the Registries in which it possibly may have been deposited have however been examined without success.*

* To ascertain the non-existence of a wished-for document is next best to its discovery; therefore, although the Will of Caxton has not been found, an account of the research made may not be uninteresting. There appear to be four Ecclesiastical Courts in which the Will may possibly have been registered. The common practice of these, as of all Courts, has been to preserve the original Will in the Registry of the Court in which it was proved; and also to make an official copy, generally, in a book, which was likewise preserved in the Registry. In very many cases, although the original Wills have long been lost, the recorded copies are still preserved.

1. *The Prerogative Court of Canterbury.* Doctors' Commons. Earliest original Will, 1484; earliest copy, 1383. The name of *Caxton* does not appear here, although *Cawston* occurs more than once (see Note *b*). The practice in this Court (as in all the others) of charging a Fee upon every reference to the Register, or the volumes of Wills, making no distinction between the professional inquiry of the lawyer, and one of a purely literary character, is a very great hindrance to historical research. The annoyance of paying a shilling for each single reference is still more increased by the intimation, which is certain to reach you immediately any signs of note-taking appear, that nothing is allowed to be copied except the name of the Testator, the date of the Will and the date of the Probate. The document, however, may be necessary for the development of your subject, and you therefore request to be provided with an Office Copy. This would not be very expensive; but you soon discover that none of the assistants can decipher a Will of the 15th Century (I am now stating my own experience in obtaining a copy of Large's Will); so you must pay for the services of an antiquarian gentleman employed by the Office. It is useless to offer the sum he will charge, to be allowed to copy it yourself: such a proceeding is against the rules. You pay the fee of the antiquarian gentleman (for Large's Will, this was £2 2s), and make a particular request that the transcript may be copied *verbatim et literatim.* Probably, in a few weeks, the document will be ready, very neatly written, with the Registrar's certificate of correctness at the end. It appears to be all you want. Vain delusion! pay another shilling, and compare it with the original. Alas! the old signs and curious contractions—"which, like the precious rust on medals, are the marks both of their antiquity and genuineness"—appear mostly as words in full spelling, according to the understanding or misunderstanding of the antiquarian gentleman: worse still! the names of Legatees are copied wrongly, and important legacies altogether omitted! Now represent your case to the

That our knowledge of William Caxton is confined almost entirely to his public life, is much to be regretted. We can trace to some extent his career in the Mart, and in his diplomatic duties. As a Printer too, we can judge of him by an examination of his works; but when we wish to portray the man as a master, or in his domestic life, or want to know what his neighbours thought of him, we are quite at a loss for material. From his appending a bitter satire on "Women" (omitted by Lord Rivers) to the "Dictes of the Philosophers," we might incline to think him a bachelor—a state certainly very favourable to those literary

Registrar; and as you have already paid for what you are unable to get, you will probably, as a great favour, obtain permission to gratify your first wish, and copy the Will *de novo* for yourself. This is an unexaggerated account of what occurred before a correct transcript of the Will of Robert Large, Caxton's master, could be obtained. (For the Will, see Auth. D.)

2. *The Court of the Archdeacon of London.* Earliest original Will, 1591; earliest copy, 1393. The copies are kept at the Faculty Office, No. 10, Great Knight Rider Street (Searching Fee, 1s.); and the Wills in St. Paul's Cathedral (Searching Fee 3s 6d). The series of copies is very incomplete, only one volume having been preserved anterior to 1549: this ranges from 1393-1415, but there is no alphabetical Index, and a long search was fruitless.

3. *The Commissory Court of London.* Earliest Will, 1548; earliest copy, 1374. The Records of this Court are kept in a room high up in St. Paul's Cathedral (Searching Fee, 3s 6d). There is no alphabetical Index to the volumes until the 17th Century, and a prolonged search among those dated 1480-93, failed to discover the wished-for name.

4. *The Consistory Court of the Bishop of London.* Earliest Will, 1507; earliest copy, 1361. These are also preserved in a similar room of the Cathedral, and can be consulted for a similar fee. A good Index is kept at the Bishop of London's Office, No. 6, Godliman Street (Searching Fee, 1s), but it yields no name like *Caxton.*

Of the other Courts in the Diocese of London, such as, the *Court of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Court of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Court of Peculiars for the Deaneries of the Arches, &c., Court of the Archdeacon of Middlesex,* and the *Precinct of St. Katherine,* not one has a Will, or a copy, so early as the 15th Century.

From a very early period to the 18th Century, the custom obtained in London of enrolling copies of Wills of Citizens in the *Court of Hustings.* These copies have been preserved complete, in the matchless collections of the Corporation, from 1258 to the abolition of the Court in 1717. As Caxton was a Citizen, it was possible that a copy of his Will might be found there. The search, however, (free of charge), which was rendered easy by the admirable Index made by order of the Corporation, did not discover the name of *Caxton,* or *Causton,* in the 15th Century, although in the previous ages those names occur no less than eight times. (See Notes *a* and *b.*)

A portion of the Weald of Kent having been in the *Archdeaconry and Diocese of Rochester,* it is possible that the Wills of some relatives of Caxton may have been deposited in the Courts of the two jurisdictions, the records of which are intermixed. The Wills are in the custody of Messrs. Essell, Knight, and Arnold, of Rochester, Solicitors; the earliest bears date, 1440, and a search, kindly made by Mr. Knight, yielded the name of *Causton* thrice before 1510. (See Note *b.*)

The Register Books of matters and adjudications, brought before the Archbishops of Canterbury, are preserved from a very early period in the Archives at *Lambeth Palace.* Scattered through these volumes are copies of hundreds of Wills, which were used as evidence in various causes. The earliest date appears to be 1312, and the latest 1636. The Will of *John de Causton,* Mercer, is among them. (See Note *b.*)

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habits which, judging from the results, must have been to him a second nature. That he was unmarried while residing at Bruges is almost certain, as the rules of celibacy were very strict among Merchants living out of their own countries. The Steel-Yard Merchants had a stringent law on the subject, and doubtless the Merchant Adventurers were guided by the same policy. If married, the succession of Wynken de Worde to his house and business, makes it unlikely that Caxton had any issue; unless, like Bagford, we make Wynken de Worde his son-in-law,—a very gratuitous assumption.

We naturally turn to the Prologues and Epilogues, attached to his translations, for *traits* of character; but here again, we are surrounded by pitfals. There existed, in Caxton's time, no rights in literature. Every author took from others what suited him, without acknowledgment, unless to give authority to his own opinions. This practice has thrown considerable uncertainty over many of the works of that period. Caxton was not free from this characteristic of his age; and we find him appropriating whole Prologues and Epilogues from the French originals, only altering them when inapplicable to himself. Instances may be seen in "The Chess-Book" (1st edition), "Mirror," "Golden Legend," "Charles," and others. Great care is therefore requisite to distinguish between the effusions of Caxton's own pen, and the mere translation of another's phrases. But, making due allowance for all this, a substratum of individuality in Caxton's Prologues and Epilogues yet remains, which must be the basis for any right estimate of his character. From his repeated eulogies of Edward IV, and the members of that family, we know that all his political sympathies were with the House of York. This was only natural, as the development of trade consequent upon amity between England and the Princes of the Low Countries, made all the English merchants staunch Yorkists. From his writings we gather also, that he had a deep sense of religion, and was strict in the observance of his Christian duties. Although the greatest Reformer, if judged by the results of the Art he introduced, that this country ever knew, he was quite unconscious of its tendency. He was indeed, in the tone of his mind, eminently Conservative, comparing the good old times of his apprenticeship with the degeneracy of succeeding generations, when in the youth of London there was "no kernel nor good corn found, but chaff for the most part." Much concerned was he to note in his latter days the decline of Chivalry, and urged his Sovereign to take immediate

Chess; Epilogue to 1st edition.
Chronicles of England; the last Chapter.
Mirrour; Epilogue.
Godefroy; Prologue.
&c. &c. &c.

Prologue to Caton.

measures for its revival, even to the extent of engaging in a new Crusade against the Turks for the recovery of the "holy cyte of Jherusalem." And as he was in opinions there seems reason to believe he was also in practice. Caxton never gave in to the new-fangled ideas of printers about the advantage of title-pages to books (though if we may judge from the fact of Wynken de Worde immediately using them on his master's death, *he* was of another opinion). In his adoption of signatures, initials, and lines of an even length, he was very late, and to the use of red ink he was evidently averse.

Prologue to Godefroy.

As a linguist, Caxton undoubtedly excelled. In his own tongue, notwithstanding his self-depreciation, he seems to have been a master. His writings, and the style of his translations, will bear comparison with Lydgate, with Gower, with Earl Rivers, Earl Worcester, or any contemporaneous writer. Many of his readers, indeed, thought him too "ornate" and "over curious" in his diction, and desired him to use more homely terms; but, as others found fault with him for not using polished and courtly expressions, we may fairly presume that the happy medium at which he aimed, "ne over rude, ne over curious," was attained. When excited, as in the Prologue to "Ordre of Chivalry"—a favourite subject with him—he grew quite eloquent, and the appeal of Caxton to the Knighthood of England, has often been quoted as a remarkable specimen of 15th-Century declamation. With the French tongue he was thoroughly conversant, although never in France proper; but Bruges was almost French; and in the Court of Burgundy, as well as in that of England, this language was the chief medium of conversation.

Prologue to Eneydos.

With Dutch he was also well acquainted, as shown by his translation of "Reynart;" which language, after so long a residence in Bruges, must have been a mother-tongue to him.

His knowledge of Latin has often been either denied or under-rated; but as Governor of the English in Bruges, and as Ambassador, he must have been able to read the treaties he assisted to conclude, and the correspondence of the King's Council. Besides this, we claim Caxton as the printer of books entirely in the Latin tongue, some of which were full of contractions, and could only be undertaken by one well acquainted with the forms of the language. These were "Infancia Salvatoris;" three editions of the "Directorium Sacerdotum;" "Psalterium;" "Horæ;" "Tractatus de Transfiguracione;" and an "Indulgence." To "ordain in

Life of Wyllyam Caxton, &c. page 121.

Dibdin's Typ. Ant. vol. I, page cxvi.

print" a Latin manuscript of the 14th or 15th Century required a knowledge of the language on the part of the workmen as well as the master; for, as the letters *n* and *u* were identical in shape, and as *m* and *i* only varied in the number of strokes, the latter being mostly without a dot, it became an impossible matter to read certain words—for instance, ııııııııııııııı (minimum) where fifteen parallel strokes distract the eye—apart from their context.

Prologue to Godefroy.

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, 2nd edit.; and Epilogues to Boethius and Book of Fame.

Bale, 1548.
Joscelinus, 1562.
Pits, 1600.
Vossius, 1627.

As translator, editor, and author, Caxton has not received the meed of praise due to him. The works which were undertaken at the suggestion of his Patrons, as well as those chosen by himself, are honestly translated; and, considering the Age he lived in, well chosen. Of "Romances," the favourite literature of his age, Caxton was a great lover; and that not merely for the feats of personal prowess which they exhibited (though no quality was more desirable in the 15th Century); but, as he himself says, for the examples of "courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin" which "inflamed the hearts of the readers and hearers to eschew and flee works vicious and dishonest." In poetry, Caxton shows to great advantage; he printed *all* of any merit then in existence. The Prologue to his second edition of the "Canterbury Tales" proves how anxious he was to be correct, and, at the same time, the difficulty he had in obtaining manuscripts free from corruption. The poetical reverence with which Caxton speaks of Chaucer, "the first founder of *ornate* eloquence in our English," and the pains he took to reprint the "Canterbury Tales," when a purer text than that of his first edition was offered him, shows his high appreciation of England's first great Poet. In history, the only available works in English were the "Chronicle of Brute" and the "Policronicon;" the latter Caxton carried on, to the best of his ability, up to nearly his own period. It is, indeed, as a writer of history that Caxton's name is chiefly known to our old authors, some of whom, while including his name among the English historians, have overlooked the fact—a far stronger claim on the gratitude of posterity—that he was also England's Prototypographer.*

The Original and Growth of Printing, by Richard Atkyns, 4to, 1664.

* All reference to the literary forgery of Atkyns, who, in the 17th Century, to support his claim to certain exclusive powers of printing under the King's patent, invented the foolish story of the abduction, by Turnour and Caxton, of one of the Haarlem workmen, and his settlement at Oxford in 1464, has been purposely omitted here. The whole account is so evidently false, so entirely at variance with the known facts in Caxton's history, and has been so often refuted in works on English typography, that to enter at any length upon its refutation would be only lost time. The celebrated Oxford book, "Expositio Sancti Jeronimi, Oxonie, M.cccc.lxviij," is the sole basis for the whole

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As to his industry, it is marvellous: at an age when other men begin to take life easily, he not only embarked upon an entirely new trade, but added to the duties of general supervision and management, which could never have been light, the task of supplying his workmen with *copy* from his own pen. The extraordinary amount of original, translated, and printed matter which he put forth has already been noticed; but there seems reason to believe that some of his works, both printed and manuscript, have been entirely lost. Of his translation of the "Metamorphoses of Ovid," only Book xv has been preserved; but we may be certain that Caxton never began to translate at the end of a work; and it seems probable, as the manuscript is evidently intended for the press, that the whole was printed as well as translated. Again, several works being unique, and many books attributed to Caxton, having been discovered only a few years ago, we may by analogy conclude that time will yet reveal to us other specimens.

For a more intimate acquaintance with our first Printer's character, the reader is referred to Caxton's own writings, a complete collection of which will be found in this volume.

Great interest would attach to a portrait of Caxton, but although two or three have been published, they are all unreal. The only one that has a show of probability is the small defaced Vignette in the manuscript of "Dictes and Sayings" at Lambeth Palace, which has received too much praise from Lord Orford, and of which he has given a beautified engraving. King Edward IV is represented on his throne, with the young Prince (to whom Earl Rivers was tutor) standing by his side: there are two kneeling figures, one of which, Earl Rivers, is presenting to the King a copy of his own translation, which Lord Orford assumes to have been printed by the other figure, who of course would then be Caxton. This would be very interesting, if true; but unfortunately the second figure is evidently an ecclesiastic, as shown by his tonsure, and apparently represents "Haywarde" the Scribe, who engrossed the copy, and probably executed both the illumination and its accompanying rythmical dedication. The portrait commonly associated with Caxton, and which appeared first in his Life, by Lewis, is thus accounted for by Dr. Dibdin:—

Royal and Noble Authors, edition 1806. Frontispiece to vol. II.

For a more particular account of this MS. see vol. II under "Dictes and Sayings," 1477.

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argument. That this date is wrong ten years (by the omission of an x) is very evident by the advanced stage displayed by the typographical particulars of the volume, and by its perfect agreement in size, length of line, position of signatures, even spacing, &c., with the "Aristotelis Ethica," and the "Ægidius Romanus," both printed in M . cccc . lxxix at Oxford.

Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, vol. I, page cxxviii.

" A portrait of *Burchiello*, the Italian Poet, from a small 8vo edition of his work on Tuscan poetry, of the date of 1554,* was inaccurately copied by Faithhorn, for Sir Hans Sloane, as the portrait of Caxton. Lewis, however, was resolved to improve upon the ingenuity of his predecessor, by adding a thick beard to Burchiello's chin, and otherwise altering his character; and in this form the Italian poet made his appearance, upon copper, as Caxton." Ames, Herbert, Marchand, and others, have reproduced this mongrel engraving. From a note, however, written by Lewis to Ames, it seems that, although Lewis admitted the portrait, it was Bagford's creative genius that invented it, as may also be inferred from Lewis's own subscription "*inv. Bagford*," upon the plate.

" page cxxix.

In the preceding sketch no attempt has been made to exalt Caxton at the expense of historical truth. As England's Prototypographer a never-dying interest will always surround him. But although nowhere, unless as a printer, does he shine pre-eminent; although we cannot attribute to him those rare mental powers which can grasp the hidden laws of nature, nor the still more rare genius which creates for all time; we can claim for him a character which attracted the love and respect of his associates—a character on which history has chronicled no stain, and which, through a long period of civil war, while surrounded in Church and State by the worst forms of cruelty, hypocrisy, and injustice, retained to the last its native simplicity and truthfulness.

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* "Where it is introduced as illustrative of a Florentine with the *Capuchin* and *Becca*—the turban or cap, and garter or streamer: so that probably even the portrait of the Italian Poet may be an ideal one."

AUTHORITIES;

BEING QUOTATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

[Note.—*The Letters and Numerals are for the purpose of Reference from the Marginal Notes to the previous Chapters.*]

SEQUENCE OF AUTHORITIES.

A. Mercers' Records.—Wardens' Accounts.
B. Mercers' Records.—Acts of Court.
C. Mercers' Records.—Renter Wardens' Accounts.
D. Large's Will, with a Translation.
E. City Records.—Liber K.
F. Bruges Records.—Civil Judgments.
G. Bruges Records.—Town Registers.
H. Hakluyt.—Merchant Adventurers' Patent.
I. Issue Roll of the Exchequer.—19th Edward IV.
K. St. Margaret's Records.—Churchwardens' Accounts.
L. St. Margaret's Records.—Guild of our Lady; Wardens' Accounts.
M. Rymer's Fœdera.—Super Treugis Burgundiæ.
N. Rymer's Fœdera.—De Receptione Ordinis Garterii.
O. Bruges Records.—Church of St. Donatus.

AUTHORITIES.

MERCERS' RECORDS.—WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

(Mercers' Hall, London.)

Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.

A Folio Volume in the Archives of the Mercers' Company, written on parchment by various scribes in the 14th and 15th Centuries; extending from 1344 to 1464. The contents of the volume include—a rent roll—the oath of householders—of linen cloth meters—of liverymen—of brethren—of brokers—of apprentices on their entry and issue—of freemen—an almanack—and the balance sheets of the whole Company.

The accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the Company are annual, and reckoned by the regnal year of the King. These accounts are generally made up under the following heads:—The annual fee of every liveryman—fees paid on the entries of apprentices—fees paid on the issues of apprentices—fines—quit-rents—general expenses—and foreign expenses. The last head comprises all payments made for goods and service not included in the legitimate business of the Company.

A 1.

The Othe for the Issue of Apprentices.

Oath taken by Caxton on issuing from his apprenticeship.

Ye shall swere that ye shal be true vnto oure liege lorde the kyng and to his heires kynges/ ye shall also be obedient & Redy to come at all leffull Sumonns & Warnyng of the Wardenis of the mercery/ whan and as often as ye be duly monysshed & warned by them/ or by any of them/ by their Bedell/ or by ony other in their name/ leffull excuse alwey except/ All Ordynaunces & Rules by the ffeliship of the merceri Ordeyned made and stablished and here after for the wele worship & profitt of the seid feliship to be made/ ye shall holde & kepe/ All coīcacōns necessarij Ordynaunces and Owncels for the welfare of the seid ffeliship and the secrets therof to you shewed/ ye shall kepe secrete & holde for councell/ and them ne ony of theym to discover or shew by ony meane or collour vnto ony persoone or persoones of ony other ffeliship. Ye shall also be contributory to all charges to you putt by the wardeins & ffeliship & to bere & pay yo^r parte of charge sett for yo^r degre like as other of the same ffeliship shall do for their degre. Moreoū ye shall not departe oute of the seid ffeliship for to serve ne ye shall not accompany you w^t ony persoone or persoones of ony

Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.

other feliship wherthrough preiudice & hurte may in ony wise growe vnto the seid ffeliship of the mercery And on this ye shall swere that during the tyme of your seruyce ye shall neither bey ne sell for yoʳ owne self ne for ony other persone ne that ye shall Receive ony goodes or marchandise by ony collour belonging vnto ony other psoon than oonly to yoʳ maist͛ whiche that ye now serue or shall serue wᵗynne the ffeliship of ye mercerie except by his speciall license & will And also that ye shall not take ony shop hous ch'mbre seller ne warehous by ony colloʳ for to ocupie byeing and sellyng vnto suche tyme as that ye have ben wᵗ the wardeins of the mercery for the tyme beyng and by oon of hem for shopholder āmytted sworn and entred Ne that ye shall take ne haue ony apprentice or ony sē for to ocupye vnto that he by you vnto oon the seid Ward. for apprentice first presented & by the seid Wardein so amytted All which poynts & eny of hem to yʳ power wele & truly ye shall hold & kepe so help you god &c.

A 2.

Oath taken by Caxton on being made a freeman.

Thothe for such persones as at yeld shal be made fre of this Cite.

Ye shall swere that ye shal be good & trew vnto oʳ liege Lord kyng of Englond and to his Eyres kyngs/ obeisaunt & obedyent to the Mayor & to the minysters of this Cite/ The ffrūnchises and Custumes therof ye shall maynteyne and the cite kepe harmles in that that in you is/ ye shal be contributary to al manʳ charges wᵗ in this cite as sōmons watches contribucions taskes tallays lotte and skotte and all other charges bere yoʳ parte as ony other fremā shall/ ye shall coloʳ no foreyns good wherby the kyng might lose his custume or his auauntage/ Ye shall know no foreyn to bey sell nor merchūndise wᵗ another fforeyn within this Cite nor the fraunches therof but ye warne the Chaumberleyn therof or some mynysters of the chamber/ ye shall emplede no fremā out of this Cite while ye mow have right & lawe here within/ ye shall take none apprentice but if he be fre borne and for no lesse time than for vij yers/ within the first yere ye shall do hym be enrolled and at the termes end ye shall make hym fre if he have wele and truly served you/ ye shall also kepe the peace/ in yoʳ owne persone/ ye shall know no gaderyngs conventicles nor conspiracies made ayenst the peace but ye warne the Maier therof & let it to yoʳ power All these poyntes ye shall wele and truly kepe accordyng to all the Lawes & Custumes of this Cite to yoʳ power so help you god and holidame & by this Boke/

A 3.

Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts. A.D. 1348.

The Fellowship in the 22nd year of Edward III. numbered 4 Wardens and 101 Liverymen, and in this year among those who paid their fees appear—

Richard de Causton
Michael de Causton
William de Causton
Henry de Causton
Theobald de Causton
Nichol de Causton
Roger de Causton

Also in the 2nd year of Henry VI.—Stevyn Causton 1424.

A 4.

Under the 2nd year of Henry IV, among the "Entrees des Apprentices," is—William Causton/ Appr. de Thos. Gedeney . . ij s 1401.

A 5.

Under the 6th year of Henry VI, the name of Robert Large appears for the first time.— 1427-8.

Cest la compte de John Whatley, Robert Large, Thomas Bataill, et John Pidiuyll fait alffeste de Seint John Baptist lān vj^{me} aps. le conquest en quils ils estoient gardeins de la mistere del mercerie come piert apres.

A 6.

Under the same year, among "Entrees des Apprentices,"—

Robert Halle
Randolf Streete } Appn̄tys de Robert Large . iiij s

A 7.

Under the 9th year of Hen. VI, among the "Entrees des Apprentices,"— 1430-1.

Item ress. de Thom̄s Nyche appn̄t de Rob^{t} Large . ij s
Item ress. de Rich. Bonifaunt appnt de Rob^{t} Large }
Item de James heton appnt de dit Rob^{t} . . . } iiij s

A 8.

The following item is from the Warden's Receipts, in the 10th year of Henry VI.— 1431-2.

Item. Ils soy chargent qilz ount ressu de Thos. Staunton ffrere et Attōne de Robert Large de monye qil ad ressu outre mere en ꝑtie de paiement de les xli prestres a John Wavyn ꝑles gardenis de lan passe.

Mercers' Records.
Wardens' Accounts.

A 9.

A.D. 1435-6. Among the Entries of Apprentices in the 14th year of Henry VI.—
It̃ de Henr. Onkmanton le aprentice de Robert Large ij s

A 10.

1437-8. Among the Issues of Apprentices in the 16th year of Henry VI.—
It̃ Randolffe Streete lappñtice de Robert Large . ij s

A 11.

Among the entries for the same year—
It̃ John large } les appñtices de
It̃ Willm̃ Caxston } Robert Large iiij s

A 12.

1438-9. Among the Wardens' Receipts in the 17th year of Henry VI.—

It̃ Ils soy chargeont pour argent ressu p^{r} fynes de diūs persones en lo^{r} temps p^{r} ces qils fautent de chiuachier ouesqȝ le mair Robert large.

In the same account under "fforein expenses."—

Item paie a xvi trumpetts le xxix i^{r} doctobre lan xviij^{me} du dit Roy Hen vj^{me} pour le chiuachee de Robert large maij v li vi s viij d

A 13.

1440-1. From the Wardens' Receipts in the 19th year of Henry VI.—

It̃ ils soy chargeont pour argent resceu des Executōs Robert large del legace du dit Robert xx li

In the same year under the Issue of Apprentices—
It̃ Thomas Neche qui fuist appñtice de Rob^{t} large ij s

1441-2. In the next year under the Issue of Apprentices—
It̃ Rich Bonefant q̧ fuist appñtice de Rob^{t} large . ij s

A 14.

1442-3. Among the Issues of Apprentices in 21 Henry VI.—
Xrōfer Heton appñtice de Rob^{t} large . . ij s
Among the Entries—
Richard large appñtice de Geffrey Felding ij s

1443-4. Among the Issues of Apprentices in 22 Henry VI.—
John Harrowe appñtice de Robert large . ij s

1446-7. Among the Issues of Apprentices in 25 Henry VI.—
Richard Caxton* s'ūnt de John Harrowe ij s

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* This is the only entry that Palmer, who searched this Register, could find in connection with Caxton.

Mercers' Records.
Wardens' Accounts.

A 15.

In Foreign Expenses for the 27th year of Henry VI.—

To Richard Burgh for berynge of a l're oūr the See vj s viij d — A.D. 1448-9.

A 16.

Under Foreign Expenses in the 29th year of Henry VI.— 1450-1.

Item. Paid to John Stubbes for perys to the Gentilwoman of the Duchesse of Burgeyn vj d

Item paid to Hewe Wyche for a writ directe to Sandewyche for the Gownys of the Gentil womans of the duches of Burgeyn ij s vj d

A 17.

Lan du grace m cccc liij Et del Roy Herry sizme puis le conqueste xxxj^{o} 1453.

Under the heading "Entre en la lyvere pm̃ An"—

It᷑ Emond Redeknape . vj s viij d
It^{m} Richaert Burgh . . vj s viij d
It^{m} William Caxton . . vj s viij d

These names have been erased with the pen, and the following memorandum added beneath—"qȝ int᷑ debitores in fine cōpotꝰ."

A 18.

In the list of persons fined "qils fautent de chiuachier ouesque le mair Geffrey Felding" in the 31st year of Henry VI, are the names of— 1453.

William Caxton	iij s	iiij d	Thomas Bryce	iij s	iiij d
Richard Burgh	iij s	iiij d	William Pratt	iij s	iiij d

A 19.

Under Foreign Expenses in the 2nd year of Edward IV.— 1462-3.

Item for botehyre for to shewe to ye lords of ye coūsell the l're y^{t} came from Caxton & ye felaship by yonde ye See vj d

A 20.

At the end of the Wardens' Account for the 4th year of Edward IV.— 1464-5.

Dettours.

Item. Ye ffelaship by yende ye see for yeir patents xlvij lī x d

A 21.

Among the Foreign Expenses for the same year—

Item to Jenyne Bakker, Currour, for berying of a letter to Caxton ovir ye see xxviij s viij d

Mercers' Records.
Acts of Court.

MERCERS' RECORDS.—ACTS OF COURT.

(Mercers' Hall, London.)

A large Folio Volume, in the Archives of the Mercers' Company, written on paper in 1522, and compiled by William Newbolde, Clerk of the Company, from the old year books of the Company, which from their number and bulk must have been inconvenient for reference. It is entitled "The originall actis and ordinaunces moste necessary to be had in memory, had and made in dyūse courtis in the halle of the honorable company of the Mercery" &c.

B 1.

A.D. 1461. [Folio v, verso.] Among the List of Mercers chosen to ride to meet King Edward, on his entering the City from the North, is "Thomas Cacston."

B 2.

1463. [Folio x, verso.] Anno xiiij^{c}lxiij^{o}.

A lettre to be delyūed by the Custoses.

Also it is accorded that as for a lettre sent from Willm̃ Caxton and the felyshipp by yonde the see directed to my lord chaunceler as for the best reynyng of bying of Ware at Brudges shal be delyūed by the Custoses Hugh Wyche & John Stockton.

Also it is accorded that what person of the felyshipp be founde gilty in bying of Ware at Brudges shall paye the fyne therof made after discreccion of the Custoses.

B 3.

1465. [Folio cxl, recto.] A^{o} xiiij^{c} lxv^{o}. Courte of aventurers holden the xvjth daye of August the yere aboue written.

ffor euell mesure of cloth & lawne.

ffor asmuche as Will^{m} Redeknape Will^{m} hende & John Sutton w^{t} other complayne as well for lak of mesure in all white clothe and brown clothe as in brede of the same/ and in lykewise in lawne nyvell & purple hit is accorded that a letter shal be made to Will^{m} Caxton goūno^{r} by yonde the see as well for refourmacion of the psidentes os other &c.

A lettre of the same and other was sent by henry Bomsted the iiijth day of September A^{o} R^{s} E. iiij^{ti} iiij^{to}.

B 4.

Mercers' Records. Acts of Court.

A.D. 1465.

[Folio c xlj recto.] Anno xiiij° lxv°.

Courte holden of the hole felyshipp the xvij^th^ daye of octobr' the yere aboue written.

* * * * * *

A lettre sent ou̅ the see.

Welbolo̅ued we grete you well certifiyng youe that as towchyng the convencion of the lordes that was appoynted to begyn at sent Omers the first daye of the ꝑsent moneth of october/ the whiche we trusted vppon/ it is so that it holdith not/ Neu̅ the lesse oure sou̅aign lorde the kyng Remembryng that thentrecourse expired the ffirst day of Nouembre next comyng/ hath written a letter to the maire of london/ wherof ye shall receyue a copye closed in this letter/ And where as the kyng by his lettre willeth that suche a ꝑsone as shulde go in message for the progacion of thentrecours shuld be ꝑvided in suche fourme as ye may conceyve by the lettre it is thougth here that it is not oure parte here in the Citie to take vppon vs a mater of so grete weyght where that all tymes here to fore the kyng by thavise of his lords of his Councell have made the ꝑvision in that behalfe and vppon this we have labored to the mayre w^t^ the wardens of diu̅s felyshippes aventerers that he will write an aunsware to the kyng of his lettre in the most plesu̅nt wise that he can that it will pleas his highnes by thavise of his Councell to ꝑvide for this mater for the weall of all his subietts/ wherfore consideryng that the day comyth nygh vppon and how that the kyngs wrytyng and his message shalbe spedde from hens we are not certen/ wherfor we pray youe for the welle of alle the kyngs subietts by thavise of the felishipp there in as goodly hast as ye can labo^r^ for a meane by the whiche yo^r^ ꝑsones & goods may be in suretie for a resonable tyme/ and in the mene whyle there com wrytyng from the kyng to the duke/ or eles from the duke to the kyng if it will so happen for progacion of the same/ and suche costs as ye do vppon the suytt we will that they be generally levied there in suche man̄ and fourme as ye seme most expedient/ written &c.

John lambert John Warde } Custoses.
John Baker John Alburgh }

a W. Caxton.

Mercers' Records.
Acts of Court.

A.D. 1466.

B 5.

[Folio C xliiij.]

Courte of adventerers holden the iijth (*sic*) day of June A^{o} xiiij^{c} lxvj.

ffor a lettre send from Caxton Gouerno^{r}.

Hit is accorded by the said felishipp for by cause of a lettre send from William Caxton and theryn a Copye of a lettre sent to the said William by therle of Warwike for thabstinens of bying Wares forboden in the dukes londes of Burgoyn by acte of ꝑlement that a lettre shalbe made and sent to the said William by the Custoses and Adventerers whiche is made and sent in the fourme folowyng &c.

A lettre send oū to Caxton goūno^{r}.

Right trusty Sir We grete youe well/ lettyng youe witt the daye of makyng of this We receyved a lettre from you directed to the mayre and vs written at Brudgs the xxvijth daye of maye last past and theryn closed a copye of a letter directed to youe from oure good lorde therle of Warwik whiche we haue well vnderstonde & conceyved/ and oppened it to our felishipp for whiche we desire and praye youe/ in that youe is to consider and fulfill thentent made by acte of p̃lement and the speciall desire of oure forsaid lorde for the publique weall of this lande and that due inqueraunce be made there in that youe is for the complyshment of the same/ as right requyreth/ we willyng in no kynde the saide acte to be broken nor hurte by non of oure felyshipp in that vs is and that the ꝑsones founde quycly yf any suche be as god forbede that ye do correcion after th ordenaūce there made and thentent of yo^{r} lettre and as for yo^{r} desire of aunsware of the lordes intent here as yitt we can not vnderstonde their disposicion but as sone as we have knowlege ye shall haue wittyng and as for the lettres that ye write ye shulde sent from seint Omers we receyued non as yitt and as for any ioperdy that shulde fall ye shall vnderstonde it ther soner than we here/ and if we knowe of any ye shall have wrytyng &c.

Writ at london the iijth day of June/

J. Tate/ J. Marshall/ Ed. Betts &
J. Broun Custoses of the mercery
& thaventerers of the same.

a Will^{m} Caxton Gūno^{r} de la nacꝯ deng^{s}.
Envoye ꝑ symond preste le iiijth io^{r} de June.

Mercers' Records.
Acts of Court.

A.D. 1468.

B 6.

[Folio xij recto.] Anno xiiijº lxviijº.

Parsones assīged to go in ambassate by the kynges commaundment.

Courte holden the ix daye of Septembr the yere aboue writtē hit was accorded and agreede that for asmoche as the kyng & his Counsell desyred of the felisshipp to haue certen ꝑsones of the same to go oū in Ambassat wᵗ diūs Enbassatōs into ffllaunders as for the enlargyng of Wollen clothe that theis persones vnderwritten shulde be p'sented to the kynges highnes & his Councell/ they to do as shall pleas them/

William Redeknape
John Pykeryng
William Caxton.

B 7.

1468.

[Same Folio and year.]

Mony assigned to the said ambassatōs for theire Costs.

Courte holden the xxviij daye of Septēbr' the yere aboue said
hit is accorded that William Redenape and John Pykeryng shall haue in honde xl li st͛ling towarde theire costs & charges for thambassatt of thēnlargyng of Wollen clothe in the duke of Burguñ londes whiche shalbe leyde oute of the cundith mony at this tyme receyued vnto the tyme another Courte be had for the ꝑvision of the same by the advise of the Aldermen of oure felyshipp.

MERCERS' RECORDS.—RENTER WARDEN'S ACCOUNTS.

(Mercers' Hall, London.)

Mercers' Records.
Renter Warden's
Accounts.

A folio Volume on paper, in the Archives of the Mercers' Company, written in the 15th Century, being a continuation, on a different plan, of the "Wardens' Accounts."

It appears that about 1463-4 the wealth of the Mercers, especially in houses and lands, had so much increased, that it was found convenient to appoint one out of the four Wardens, whose business it should be to keep an account of the Company's estate. Accordingly every year a "Renter Warden" was chosen; and from this period the Rent-roll is the main feature in the Books, the sum total only of the Fees and Expenses of the Company appearing under their separate heads.

Mercers' Records.
Renter Wardens'
Accounts.

C 1.

A.D. 1463-4. Under "Qwyterents."—3rd Edward IV.

Item paid to ye Chamberleyn of Westm^{r} for y^{e} pye at S Martyns Otewich for iiij t'm^{s} at Esť A^{o} iij^{oo} xx s

C 2.

1464-5. 4th Edward IV.

Item to ye m̃ of S Giles in y^{e} ffeld for tent^{s} at S Martyns Oteswich vj s viij d

Item to y^{e} Chamberleyn of yabbey of Westm^{r} for ye same xx s

C 3.

1467-8. 7th Edward IV.

Item paid for Rep'ac^{s} done at S Martyns Oteswich as apith by ye pap of yacōpts/ as in tyleng and oy^{r} yings xx s vj d obꝰ.

C 4.

1475. A^{o} xiiij c lxxv. Under the head "Discharge by Qwyterents of the mercery."

Paid to the Chāmbleyn of West^{r} for the pye xx s

C 5.

1475. Same year. Under "Qwyterents of Wheť" (Whittington).

The Ward^{s} of O^{r} lady brethered of seint Margaret at Westm^{r} v s

C 6.

1477. A^{o} xiiij c lxxvij. Under " Qwyterents of Whetyngton.

Iť of the Wardeyns of O^{r} lady brethered of Seint Margarets at Westminster v s

C 7.

1484. A^{o} xiiij c lxxxiiij Under the same.

Iť of the ward^{s} of o^{r} lady brethered of seint marg'ets at Westemest^{r} for their tentꝰ in Aldermare v s

C 8.

A^{o} xiiij c lxxvij. Under "Qwyterents."

Itm̃ to the Chawmburleyn of west^{r} for the grehound iiij s vj d

Under "Other paiements."

For a dener kept at the grehound at the visitacion of the lyuelod xxvj s viij d

Itm̃ for wesshyng of a tabyll cloth ij d

THE WILL OF ROBERT LARGE,

Citizen of London and Mercer—dated 11th April, 1441—extracted from the original copy in the Book, called "Rouse," deposited in the principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate.

Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons. Will of Robert Large.

A.D. 1441.

D 1.

Jn Dei noīe Amen Vndecimo die mens' Aprilis Anno dn̄i Millesimo CCCC^{mo} quadragesimo primo Regni vero Regis Henrici sexti post conqm̄ Anglie Anno decimo nono Ego Robertꝰ Large Ciuis & m̄crus ciuit͛ london̄ in bona & sana mea memoria existens condo facō & ordino pn̄s testm̄ meū in hūc modū Jn primis lego & com̄endo aīam meā deo oīpotēn creatori & saluatori meo b'tēqꝫ virgini marie mat͛ eius & oībus s'cis corpusqꝫ meū ad sepeliend' ī ecclīa ꝑoch' s'ti Olaui in veteri Judaismo london̄ scilct͛ eodm̄ loco quo corpus Elizabeth' nuꝑ vxoris mee iacet humatū quo corꝑe meo sepulto· volo & lego primo & pn̄^{r} q, oīa & singula debita mea fidelit͛ et integre ꝑsoluat͛ Et postmodū lego sum̄o altari dct͛ ecclīe s'ci Olaui vt vicarius ibm̄ ꝑ aīa mea sꝑīalit͛ exoret C s Jt͛ lego ad opus corporis eiusd' ecclīe vbi mag' necesse fuerit iux^{a} sanā discrēōm ꝑchianor' illius ecclīe disponend' viginti m'rcas Jtm̄ lego viginti libras per executores meos in empcōēm vniꝰ secte vestimētor' iux^{a} assignationem ꝑdcor' ꝑochianor' soluend' & exponend' quā sectā vestimētor' volo ī d'cta ecclīa s'ti Olaui remanere ibm̄ ad laudē dei q'diu durare valeat des'uitur' Jtm̄ lego ducētas marcas ad inde īueīend' vnū cappellanū ydoneū et honestū ac ī hijs quo ad diā ꝑtinēt officia cōgrue eruditū missā suā ad altarē bt͛e Marie ī dt͛a ecclīa s'ci Olaui cotidie cū dispoītus fuerit celebrat' vel alit' iux^{a} discrecōēm vxoris mee & ad dīa s'uicia singul' horis canoīc' int͛ futur' officiatur' adiutur' & mīstratur' iux^{a} auisamētū quatuor ꝑbor' ꝑoch'nor' ecclīe an̄dc'e ꝑ viginti ānos ꝑx' futur' post decessū meū capiendo h'mōī capellanꝰ ꝑ suo salario ānuatī decē m'rcas per manus exec' meor' & soluend' & mīstrandor' vt ipē Capelanꝰ aīam meā aīas quoqꝫ Elizabeth' & Johē vxor' mear' Ricī Herry nuꝑ mag'ri mei & aīas omī quibꝫ merito teneor ac aīas omī fideliū defunctor' deo h'ēat͛ sꝑīaliter recomendat͛ Jtm̄ lego sūmo altari ecclīe s'te margarete in lothebury london̄ C s Jtm̄ lego xx lī per executor' meos in empcōem vniꝰ secte vestimētor' iux^{a} assignacōēm pred'cor' ꝑochianor' soluend' et expo^{d} quā sectā vestimētor' volo ī d'ca ecclīa s'te margarete remanē ibm̄ ad laudē dei q^{u}diu durare valeat des'ruiturꝰ Jt͛ lego vigīti libras per execut͛ meos int͛ paupes hoīes & feīas ī Warda de

Ecclesia Sancti Olavi, vetere Judaismo.

Elizabetha Large.
Johanna Large.
Ricardus Herry.

Ecclesia Sancti Margaretæ in Lothbury.

Warda de Coleman-street.

Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons. Will of Robert Large.

Colmanstrete mag' indigeñ disponend' et distribuend' Jtm̃ quatuor
libras per execut᷑ meos int᷑ Capellanos & Clīcos ī ecc'lijs s'ti Olaui & s'te
margarete pd'te infra duos años ꝑx post decessū meū participand' viz
vtroqȝ año xl s vt ipī capellī & Clīci ꝑ aīa mea exoret Jt᷑ lego noue
facture & cōstructoī Aqueduct᷑ de nouo īceptꝰ ī Cit᷑ londoñ quadringentas
Construct. Aqueducti. marc' infra quatuor años iuxᵃ discret' exec' meor' soluend' sub condīoe
tñ qȝ ꝑdict᷑ Aqueduct᷑ fiat ifra huīsī quatuor años ꝑx post decessū meū
futur' & nō alit᷑ Jtm̃ lego ad opus facture & repācōis pont᷑ londoñ Cᵐ
marc' infra quatuor años eciā iuxᵃ discret' executor' meor' soluēd' Jtm̃
Walbroke. lego ad mūdacōem cursus aque vocat᷑ Walbroke ꝑpe ecclīam s'te margarete de lothebury & largicōēm & cōstructōem eiusdm̃ ecclīe per sana
discrec' executor' meor' & q'tuor ꝑbior' ꝑachianor' illius ecclīe dispōd'
CC marc' vel mag' si necesse fuīt Jta qȝ nō excedat tres centas marc'
Jtm̃ lego lego (*sic*) Cᵐ marc' ad maritagia decē paupē puellar' bone fame
iuxᵃ sanā discret' exec' meor' vīz cuilēt huīoi decē puellar' ad maritagiū suū
decem marc' tā in p̃ria qᵘ ī Ciᵗᵒ londoñ disponend' Jtm̃ lego C llī
pauperibȝ domestic' ī com̃ lancestr' & Warrewic' ꝑ exec' meos dispōd' .s.
alicui hoī paupī domestico decē solid' & alicui vigīti solid' & alicui xl s
ꝑut necesse fuit qᵘdiu dict᷑ C llī ad hoc sufficē valeāt Jt᷑ lego xx llī
ꝑ execut᷑ meos int᷑ paupēs hoīes & feīas nō maritat᷑ sēt solicit᷑ degeñ
Paroch. de Shakeston. ꝑticipand' vbi mag' necesse fuīt Jtm̃ lego ecclīe ꝑoch' de Shakeston vbi
pater meus sepelit᷑ vnū vestimētū p̃cij decē llī ī eadm̃ ecclīa qᵘdiu durare
Paroch. de Aldestre. valeat ad laudē dei des'uitur Jtm̃ lego ecclīe ꝑach' de Aldestre vbi
aūcessores mei tumulāt᷑ vnū vestimētū p̃cij decē librar' Jtm̃ lego ecclīe
Paroch. de Overton. ꝑoch' de Overton vbi aliq' de parētela mea tumulāt᷑ vnū vestimētū p̃cij
x lī Jt᷑ lego Thome Nyche s'uiēti meo qūq'ginta marc' Jtm̃ Ricō
Bonyfaunt Appñtico meo qūquaginta marc' Jtm̃ lego Henrico Onkmanton appñtico meo xx lī Jt᷑ lego Roberto Dedes appñtico meo xx marc'
Willielmus Caxton. Jt᷑ lego xpōfero appñtico meo xx li Jtm̃ lego Willō Caxtoñ appñtico
meo xx marc' Jtm̃ lego Johī Gode s'uiēti meo x lī Jt᷑ lego Willō
Brydde s'uiēti meo x marc' Jt᷑ lego Willō s'uiēti meo ī coqūa xl s Jt᷑ lego
Katīne s'uiēti meo x marc' & Jsabelle lynde xl s Jt᷑ lego Willō Sampsoñ
Man. de Horham. s'uiēti meo ad maneriū meū de horham v marc' Jt᷑ lego Petro s'uiēti
meo ibm̃ xl s & Thome s'uiēti meo ibm̃ xxvj s viij d Jt᷑ lego Johē
de Ramseye s'uiēti Jsabelle Boteley ad maritagiū suū x marc' It᷑ lego
Ricō Turnat᷑ filio Johē vxīs mee xx lī Jt᷑ lego C marc' int᷑ liberos Johīs
Chirch Ciuis & m̃cer' Ci' londoñ quos ad etatē xxiiij añor' viuere cōtigerīt
per exec' meos ꝑticipand' Jt᷑ lego Thome Stauntoñ frat᷑ meo vt subeat

Prerogative Court,
Doctors' Commons.
Will of
Robert Large.

Johanna, uxor.

Thomas, filius.

Robertus, filius.

Ricardus, filius.

onus executōis p̃sent᷑ testī mei & suā bonā diligenciā in hac parte fecīt C lī J t᷑ lego Arnulpho Strete m̃cero sub eadm̃ forma C marc' & Stephano Tychemerssh sub pari forma C marc' J t᷑ lego K'tīne mat᷑ meo C marc' J t᷑ lego Johē vxori mee noīe dot᷑ & ꝑptis sue omñ & singulor' bonor' & Catallor' meor' mobiliū s' de iure concernent᷑ quatuor Milia m̃rc' Et ī casu quo ipā Johā vxor mea de meo huīoī legato s' displacuīt tūc volo q) ꝑñs meū legatū erga ipām Johām cesset & vacuū sit ī lege & q) tūc hēat eadm̃ Johā vx' mea de bonis & catall' meis mobilibȝ solom° id quod ex lege hēre potīt absqȝ incremēto seu auātagio aliquali J t᷑ lego Thōe filio meo mille lī st'ling' & volo q) ipē Thomas filius meꝰ vna cū p̃dcīs mille libr' eidm̃ Thome filio meo ꝑ me s' legat᷑ sint & remaneat᷑ ī salua custodia & gubernacōe ꝑd'ce Johē vxīs mee quousqȝ dictus Thomas filius meꝰ ad suā etatē xxiiij añor' ꝑuenēt Jnueīendo ipā Johā vx' mea sufficientem securitatē ī camā Guyhalde Cīt᷑ londoñ ꝑut mor' est & cōsuetudīs eiusd' Cīt᷑ ad deliberand' d'co Thome filīo meo ꝑdict᷑ mille libras cū ipē Thomas filiꝰ meꝰ ad suā huīā etatē xxiiij añor' ꝑuenīt absqȝ aliquo īcremēto inde reddend' ñ solūm° rōnab'lem Jnūenō ipsius Thome filii mei J t᷑ lego Robertō filio meo mille libras sterl' & volo q) idm̃ Robertus filius meꝰ sit cū p̃dcis mille librꝰ per me eidm̃ Roberto filio meo sic suꝑīus legatꝰ sint & remaneāt in salua custodia & gubñacōe pred'ci Thome Staunton frīs mei quosqȝ dictus Robertus filius meus ad suā etatem xxiiij añor' ꝑuenerit Jnueīendo idm̃ Thomas Staunton sūfficieñ securitatē in camā Guyhalde cīt᷑ londoñ ꝑut moris est & consuetudīs eiusd' cīt᷑ ad deliberand' ꝑd'co Roberto filio meo p̃dictꝰ mille libras per me vt ꝑfertʳ s' legatꝰ cū ipē Robertꝰ filiꝰ meꝰ ad suā dict᷑ etatē xxiiij añor' ꝑuenīt absqȝ aliq° incremēto inde reddendo ñ solūm° rōnabil' iūent᷑ ipīus Roberti filij mei Jtm̃ lego Ricardo filio meo mille lī sterl' & volo q) ipē Ricūs filiꝰ vna cū d'cis mille librꝰ sic s' ꝑ me suꝑiꝰ legatꝰ sint & remaneāt in Salua custodia & gubernat᷑ ꝑdic' Johē vxīs mee quousqȝ idm̃ Ricūs filiꝰ meꝰ ꝑuenīt ad suā etatē xxiiij añor' Jnueīendo eadm̃ Johā vx' mea sufficieñ secur' ꝑdict᷑ mille librar' ꝑut suꝑiꝰ est specificatū Et in casu quo aliq's vel aliq' d'cor' Thome Roberti & Ricī filior' meor' añ suā dictā etatē xx & quatuor añor' obierit vel obierīt tūc volo & lego q) pars vel partes ipīus filij mei vel ipōr' filior' meor' sic infra etatē xx & quatuor añor' decedent᷑ seu decedentiū remaneat seu remaneāt illi vel ill' d'cor' filior' meor' suꝑstiti vel suꝑstitibus Et si ꝑd'ci filij mei añ etatē vigīti & quatuor añor' omēs obierīt extūc volo & lego q) dict᷑ tres mille libr' ꝑ exec' meos in pijs vsibȝ & opībus caritatis ꝑ aīā mea aīabȝ ꝑentū meor' vxor' mear' liberor' eciā Amicor'

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& bn̄factor' meor' aīabʒ om̄ quibʒ merito teneor & om̄ fideliū defūctor'
disponantur & distribuāt̉ ꝑut ipī executores mei meliꝰ & salubrius sperēt
deo placere & saluti aīe mee ꝑficere Jtm̄ lego Alicie filie mee C lī s' cū
Alicia, filia. ad etatē vigīti & vniꝰ añor' ꝑuenīt soluend' & in empcōem hustilmētor'
& vtensiliū hospicō suo magꝰ necessarior' iuxª auisamētū sani cosīlij
Elizabetha, filia. dispōd' Jtm̄ lego Elizabeth' filie mee quīgentas marc' sterl' Et volo q̧
eadm̄ Elizabeth' filia mea vna cū ꝑdcīs quīgentis marc' eidm̄ Elizabeth'
filie mee per me suꝑius legatꝰ sint & remaneāt ī gubernat̉ Stephī Tychem̄ssh
ꝑdcī qūsqʒ d'ca Elizabeth' filia mea ad etatē vigīti añor' ꝑuenīt seu
maritata fuīt Jnueīendo ipē Stephūs suffītē securitatē ī camā Guyhalde
cīt̉ londoñ ꝑut morꝰ est & cōsuetudīs eiusdm̄ cīt̉ ad deliberand' d'ce
Elizabeth' filie mee p̃dict̉ qñgentas marc' sterl' cū ipā Elizabeth' filia mea
ad huioī etatē xx^{ti} añor' ꝑuenīt seu maritatꝰ fuīt absqʒ aliquo īcremēto
indė reddendo ñ sōlūm° rōnabil' Jnuēt̉ ipīus Elizabeth' filie mee Et si
d'cam Elizabeth' filiā meā añ d'cam̄ etatē xx^{ti} añor' seu īmaritatꝰ obire
cōtigerit tūc voloqʒ ducētū & quq^{u}gīta marc' de ꝑdcīs quīgent̉ marc' per
me eidm̄ Elizabeth' filie mee suꝑiꝰ legat̉ remaneat̉ d'ce Alicie filie mee si
suꝑstitīt & si ipā mortua fuīt tūc dict̉ ducent̉ & qūquaginta marc' vna cū
d'cis alijs CC & qūquaginta marc' residuis per execut̉ meos ī pijs vsibus
& opībus caritatis ꝑ aīa mea & aīabʒ suprad'cīs forma p̃missa disponat̉ &
Mistera Mercerorum. distribuāt̉ Jtm̄ lego coī pixidi mistere m̄ceror' cīt̉ londoñ ad sustentacōem
pauper' eiusdm̄ mistere xx lī Jtm̄ lego decē lī ad inde ordināđ' & emēd'
iuxª discrecōñ executor' meor' vnū vestimētū in capello m̄cer' ī ecclīa s'ci
Ecclesia S. Thomæ de Acon. Thome de Acoñ londoñ q^{u}diu durare valeat des'uitur' Jtm̄ lego cuilīt
cōuētui quatuor ordinū ffrm̄ mendicān in Cīt̉ londoñ ad exorand' ꝑ aīa
Conventus S. Crucis. mea xl s Jt̉m lego Couētui frm̄ ordīs scē Cruc' iuxª t'rim londoñ
xx s Jtm̄ lego C s ad emend' lectualia linea & lanea iuxª discrec' exec'
Hosp. S. Bartholomei. meor' infra hospi^{le} s'ci Barthī in Westsmythfeld londoñ q^{u}diu durare
poterint des'uitur Jtm̄ lego C s ad inde eciā emend' lectual' cosīlia infra
Hosp. S. Mary Spital. nouū Hospi^{le} vocat̉ Seyntmaryspytyll exª Bisshopisgate londoñ q^{u}diu
durare valeat̉ des'uitur' Jtm̄ lego quīqʒ marc' ad cōsimilia lectual' emend'
Hosp. de Bethlehem. ꝑ hospi^{le} b'te marie de Bedleem exª Bisshopisgate p̃dic' Jtm̄ lego xl s ad
Hosp. de S. Thomæ. huīōi lectualia emēd' ꝑ hospi^{le} s'ci Thome de Southwerk ꝑpe londoñ
Domus leprosorum. Jtm̄ lego sex lī ad huīōi lectual' emēd' ꝑ domibʒ leprosor' apud hakeney
les lokes exª barra s'ci Georgij de Southwerk & s'ci Egidij extra holborne
londoñ s. ꝑ qualit̉ d'car' domūm xl s Jtm̄ lego C s ad inde ordinand'
Newgate. & emend' victual' & alia necessaria mag' indigeñ ꝑ Prisonarijs in Newgate
lōndoñ ꝑ sana discrec' exec' meor' Jtm̄ lego C s cōsīli m° disponend'

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ꝑ Prisonarijs ī ludgate londoñ Jtm̃ lego fabrice nauis ecclīe de Thakstede quīqȝ marc' Jtm̃ lego reꝑācōi corꝑis ecclīe de Chawrey ī com̃ Essex xl s Jtm̃ lego Ricardo ffoliet m̃cero xx marc' Jtm̃ lego Willō Halle m̃cero nuꝑ̃ s'uiēti meo xx lī Jtm̃ lego Agneti nuꝑ̃ 'uiēti mee xl s Jtm̃ lego vtriqȝ d'car' Alicie & Elizabeth' filiar' mear' tres ciphos cooꝑt de ciphis meis vocatꝰ Standyng cuppys argenti deauratꝰ quolītꝰ huīoi ciph'or' cū coopercul' pond' xxiiij^{or} vnc' & * * * (*Desunt cætera*).

D 2.

TRANSLATION.

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

In the Name of GOD Amen. On the eleventh Day of the month of April in the Year of our Lord One Thousand CCCC and forty one in the nineteenth Year of King Henry the sixth after the conquest I Robert Large Citizen and Mercer of the City of London being in perfect health and memory do hereby make execute and ordain my Will in this manner First I bequeath and commend my Soul to Almighty GOD my Creator and Saviour to the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother and to all the Saints and my body to be buried in the parish Church of St. Olave in the Old Jewry London to wit in the same place in which the body of Elizabeth my late wife lies buried which my body being buried I will and bequeath first and principally that all and singular my debts shall be faithfully and entirely paid in full And afterwards I bequeath to the High Altar of the said Church of St. Olave that the Vicar of the same shall specially pray for the good of my soul C s Also I bequeath for the use of the structure of the same church to be applied wherever it shall be most requisite according to the sound discretion of the parishioners twenty marcs Also I leave twenty pounds for my executors to buy one set of vestments to be chosen according to the judgment of the aforesaid parishioners and such set of vestments I will to remain in the said church of St. Olave to serve for the glory of GOD so long as they shall last Also I bequeath two hundred marcs for the purpose of providing a Chaplain fit and honest and well instructed in those things which pertain to the holy offices to celebrate mass at the altar of the blessed Mary in the said church of St. Olave daily when it shall be appointed or otherwise according to the discretion of my wife and to be present at divine service at each hour appointed for prayer to officiate to pray and to minister according to the discretion of four approved

Elizabeth, first wife.

Church of St. Olave, Old Jewry.

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

parishioners of the aforesaid church for twenty years next after my decease the said chaplain taking for his annual salary ten marks to be paid and administered at the hands of my executors in order that he the said Chaplain may specially commend to GOD my soul and also the souls of Elizabeth and Johanna my wives Richard Herry my late master and the souls of all those whom I esteem and the souls of all the faithful departed

Church of St. Margaret, Lothbury.

Also I bequeath to the high altar of St. Margaret in Lothbury London C s Also I bequeath xx Pounds to be paid by my executors for the purchase of one set of vestments according to the expressed choice of the aforesaid parishioners which set of vestments I wish to remain in the said Church of Saint Margaret to serve for the worship of GOD so long as they shall last Also I leave xx pounds to be disposed of and divided by my executors among the more indigent poor men and women of the ward of Coleman Street Also four pounds to be divided by my executors among the Chaplains and Clerks in the Churches of St. Olave and St. Margaret aforesaid within two years next after my decease that is to say xl s each year in order that the aforesaid Chaplains and Clerks may pray for my soul

Construction of Aqueduct.

Also I bequeath for the new making and construction of an aqueduct lately begun in the City of London CCCC marks to be paid within four years according to the discretion of my executors on condition however that the aforesaid aqueduct be completed within four years next after my decease and not otherwise.

Repairing of London Bridge.

Also I bequeath for the work of making and repairing London Bridge C marks to be paid within four years according to the discretion of my executors

Cleansing of Walbrook.

Also I bequeath for the cleansing of the Watercourse called Walbrook near the church of St. Margaret Lothbury and for the enlargement and upholding of the same church to be disposed of according to the wise discretion of my executors and four approved parishioners of that Church CC marks or more if necessary so that it do not exceed CCC marks Also I bequeath C marks to be disposed of according to the wise discretion of my executors for the marriage of ten poor girls of good character namely to each of these ten girls at her marriage ten marks whether in the country or in the City of London Also I bequeath C pounds to be divided by my

Lancashire.

Warwickshire.

executors among poor domestic servants in the counties of Lancashire and Warwickshire that is to say to one poor manservant ten shillings and to another twenty shillings and to another forty shillings as occasion may require so long as the said C pounds shall suffice. Also I bequeath xx pounds to be distributed by my executors where it may be most needed

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

among poor unmarried men and women desirous of marriage Also I bequeath to the parish church of Shakeston where my father lies buried a vestment of the value of ten pounds to serve in the same church to the glory of GOD so long as it will last Also I bequeath to the parish church of Aldester where my ancestors are buried a vestment of the value of ten pounds Also I leave to the parish church of Overton where some of my father's relatives are buried a vestment of the value of ten pounds Also I bequeath to Thomas Nyche my servant l marks Also to Richard Bonyfaunt my apprentice l marks Also I bequeath to Henry Onkmanton my apprentice l pounds Also I bequeath to Robert Dedes my apprentice xx marks Also I bequeath to Christopher my apprentice xx pounds Also I bequeath to William Caxton my apprentice xx marks Also I bequeath to John Gode my servant x pounds Also I bequeath to William Brydde my servant x marks Also I bequeath to William my kitchen servant xl shillings Also I bequeath to Katherine my servant x marks and to Isabella Lynde xl shillings Also I leave to William Sampson my servant at my manor of Horham five marks Also I bequeath to Peter my servant at the same place xl shillings and to Thomas my servant at the same place xxvj shillings and viij pence Also I bequeath to John de Ramsey servant of Isabella Boteley x marks on his marriage Also I bequeath to Richard Turnat the son of Johanna my wife xx pounds Also I bequeath C marks to be divided by my executors among the children of John Chirch Citizen and Mercer of the City of London who shall be living at the age of xxiiij years Also I bequeath to Thomas Staunton my brother if he will undertake the charge of executing this my will and will act with good diligence in this office C pounds Also I bequeath to Arnulph Strete Mercer on the same condition C marks and to Stephen Tychemerssh on the same condition C marks Also I leave to Katherine my mother C marks Also I bequeath to Johanna my wife by way of gift and instead of her portion of all and singular my moveable goods and chattels by law belonging to her four thousand marks And in case that she Johanna my wife shall be dissatisfied with this my said legacy then I will that this my legacy to the said Johanna do cease and become void in law and that then the said Johanna my wife do have of my moveable goods and chattels only that portion to which she is entitled by law without any addition or advantage whatsoever Also I bequeath to Thomas my son one thousand pounds sterling and I will that the said Thomas my son together with

Parishes of Shakeston, Aldester, and Overton.

Apprentices and Servants.

William Caxton, apprentice.

Manor of Horham.

Richard Turnat, stepson.

Thomas Staunton, brother-in-law.

Johanna, second wife.

Thomas, son.

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

the aforesaid thousand pounds left by me to him the said Thomas my son be and remain in the safe charge and government of the aforesaid Johanna my wife until the said Thomas my son shall arrive at the age of twenty-four years she the said Johanna my wife finding sufficient security in the Guildhall chamber of the City of London according to the manner and custom of the said City to deliver up to the said Thomas my son the aforesaid thousand pounds when he Thomas my son shall arrive at his aforesaid age of twenty-four years without rendering any interest therefor only and except the reasonable support of my said son Thomas Also I bequeath to Robert my son one thousand pounds sterling and I will that the said Robert my son together with the aforesaid thousand pounds so left by me as above to the said Robert my son be and remain in the safe charge and governance of the aforesaid Thomas Staunton my brother until the said Robert my son shall arrive at the age of twenty-four years the said Thomas Staunton finding sufficient security in the Guildhall chamber of the City of London according to the manner and custom of the said City to deliver up to the said Robert my son the aforesaid thousand pounds so left by me as aforesaid when the said Robert my son shall arrive at his aforesaid age of twenty-four years without rendering any interest therefor only and except the proper support of my said son Robert Also I bequeath to Richard my son one thousand pounds sterling and will that the said Richard my son together with the said thousand pounds so bequeathed by me to him as above shall be and remain in the safe custody and governance of the aforesaid Johanna my wife until Richard my said son shall arrive at the age of twenty-four years the said Johanna my wife finding sufficient security for the said thousand pounds in the same way as above specified And in case one or more of my said sons Thomas Robert or Richard shall die before reaching the said age of twenty-four years then I will and bequeath that the portion or portions of that my son or those my sons so dying before the age of twenty-four years shall revert to that one or those of my said sons surviving And if all my said sons shall die before arriving at the age of twenty-four years then I will and bequeath that the said three thousand pounds shall be disposed of and distributed by my executors in pious uses and works of charity for the good of my own soul and the souls of my parents my wives and my children also of my friends and benefactors for the souls of all I hold in esteem and of all the faithful departed this life in such way as my executors may consider to be better for the pleasing of GOD and

Robert, son.

Richard, son.

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

Alice and Elizabeth, daughters.

most profitable for the salvation of my soul Also I bequeath to Alice my daughter one hundred pounds to be paid to her when she shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years to be spent in the purchase of furniture and utensils most necessary for her house according to sound advice and counsel Also I bequeath to Elizabeth my daughter five hundred marks sterling and I will that the said Elizabeth my daughter together with the aforesaid five hundred marks left by me as above to the said Elizabeth my daughter be and remain in the governance of the aforesaid Stephen Tychemerssh until the said Elizabeth my daughter shall arrive at the age of twenty years or be married he the said Stephen finding sufficient security in the chamber of Guildhall in the City of London according to the custom and usage of the said City to deliver up to the said Elizabeth my daughter the aforesaid five hundred marks sterling when the said Elizabeth my daughter shall arrive at the aforesaid age of twenty years or be married without rendering any other interest therefor only and except the reasonable support of the said Elizabeth my daughter And if the said Elizabeth my daughter shall happen to die unmarried or before the age of twenty years then I will that two hundred and fifty marks of the aforesaid five hundred marks left by me as above to the said Elizabeth my daughter revert to the said Alice my daughter if she shall survive and if she be dead then the said two hundred and fifty marks together with the other said two hundred and fifty marks remaining be at the disposal of and distributed by my executors in pious uses and works of charity for the good of my soul and the souls above mentioned in manner as afore is set forth Also I bequeath to the common box of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London for the support of the poor of the said mystery twenty pounds. Also I bequeath ten pounds to be disposed of according to the discretion of my executors in the purchase of a vestment to serve in the Mercers' chapel in the church of St. Thomas of Acon London so long as it will last Also I bequeath to each convent of the four orders of mendicant friars in the City of London to pray for my soul forty shillings Also I bequeath to the convent of friars of the order of St. Cross near the Tower of London twenty shillings. Also I bequeath one hundred shillings for the purchase of bedding linen and flannel according to the discretion of my executors to serve in the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield so long as they will last Also I bequeath one hundred shillings wherewith to purchase in like manner bedding for the new hospital called St. Mary Spital without

Mercers' Company.

Church of St. Thomas of Acon.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

St. Mary Spital.

Will of Robert Large. Translation.

Bethlehem Hospital.

St. Thomas's Hospital.

Leper-houses.

Newgate.

Ludgate.

Churches of Thakstede and Chawrey.

Bishopsgate London so long as it will last Also I leave five marks wherewith in like manner to purchase bedding for the hospital of the Blessed Saint Mary of Bethlehem without Bishopsgate aforesaid Also I bequeath forty shillings wherewith in like manner to purchase bedding for the hospital of St. Thomas of Southwark near London Also I bequeath six pounds wherewith in like manner to purchase bedding for the Lepershouses at Hakeney les lokes without the barriers of St George Southwark and of St Egidius beyond Holborn London namely to each of the said houses forty shillings Also I bequeath one hundred shillings wherewith to provide and purchase food and other things most necessary for the poor prisoners in Newgate London to be distributed according to the sound discretion of my executors Also I bequeath one hundred shillings to be distributed in like manner among the prisoners in Ludgate London Also I bequeath for repairs in the nave of the church of Thakstede five marks Also I bequeath for repairs in the body of the church of Chawrey in the county of Essex forty shillings Also I bequeath to Richard Foliet mercer twenty marks. Also I bequeath to William Halle mercer lately my servant twenty pounds. Also I bequeath to Agnes lately my servant forty shillings Also I bequeath to each of my two said daughters Alice and Elizabeth three cups with covers from among my cups called standing cups of silver-gilt whichever of such cups with the covers shall weigh twenty-four ounces and * * *

[*The remainder of this Will is wanting in the Original.*]

CITY RECORDS.—LIBER K.

(Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall, London).

The "Letter-books" in the City Archives, which commence at Liber A, and extend to ZZ, are all in manuscript contemporary with the times they illustrate, and present an unbroken series of Documents from A.D. 1275 to A.D. 1688. The earlier Volumes contain Records of nearly all Civic matters, such as Charters of various Towns (some of which are foreign); Trade Companies; Deeds of Incorporation; Ordinances of Crafts or Mysteries; Legal Proceedings; Orphanages; Taxes and Levies; and various Ordinances for regulating the internal management and good government of the City.

City Records.
Liber K.

Liber K is a large Folio, written on Vellum, embracing the reign of Henry VI, A.D. 1422-59.

E 1.

A.D. 1448.
Folio 208 *a.*

Quinto die mensis decembris Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie vicessimo septimo, venit hic in Curia Domini Regis in Camā Guyhald Ciuitatis londoñ coram Stephañ Broun maiore et Aldermannis eiusdem Ciuitatis p̃dcūs Ricūs large filius and heres Rob'ti large Ciuis dum vixit & Aldermañ Ciuitat᷑ p̃d'ce plene etatis & cognouit se fore content᷑ & aggreatū de mille libris sterlingorum in suprad'cā recognicione content᷑ ꝑ mortem Thome et Rob'ti nuper fratrum eiusdem Ricī eo q'd ipī infra legitimam etatem suam obierunt eidm̃ Ricō accrescent᷑ & pertinent᷑ virtute legati ꝑ p̃fatum Robertum large patrem in testamento sui eisdem filijs suis fact᷑/ De quibus quidm̃ mille libris sterlingorum idm̃ Ricūs tam Johēm Chichele Cam̃arūs Ciuitat᷑ p̃d'ce & Cur' qm̃ Thomam Staunton Ricm̃ Riche Thomam Walsyngham Galfour Boleyn & Thomam Style Ciues Ciuitatis pred'ce in superiore Recognicione nominat᷑ inde exonerat & quietat impꝑm̃ per p̃sentes.

E 2.

A.D. 1445.
Folio 223 *b.*

In a long unheaded list of names, with a small sum attached to each (apparently a house tax) occurs—

Jt᷑ teñ willī de Caxtoñ . . . j d

BRUGES RECORDS.—CIVIL JUDGMENTS.

(The Archives, Bruges.)

Bruges Records.
Civil Judgments.

The following document is found in one of the many volumes of Records preserved in the Archives of the City of Bruges. Like the other volumes of this interesting series it is in manuscript coeval with the history it elucidates. The Title at the beginning of the book is as follows:—

"Registre van alle zaken ghehandelt bi Scepēn van Brugghe, in huerl. camere daer zy daghelicx vergaderen. Beghint in Septembre in 'tjaer dunst vierhondert xlvij."; or, "A Register of all matters brought under the notice of the Councillors of Bruges, in their daily session assembled. Begun in the month of September, in the year one thousand four hundred xlvij."

F 1.

A.D. 1449.
Folio c xx iij.

A tous ceulx qui ces p̃ntes l'res verront ou orront Bourgmaistres escheuins et conseil de la ville de Bruges, salut: sauoir faisons que

Bruges Records.
Civil Judgments.

A.D. 1449.

p̃devant Roeland de Vos et Guerard le Groote nos Compaignons eschvins sont aujour de huy venus en droit Guill. Craes* m̃chand dEngletre demandeur dune part et Jehan Selle et Guill. Cacston aussi m̃chans dEngletre deffendeurs daultre part disant led. demandeur que Jehan Granton m̃chant de lestaple a Calais lui estait tenu et obligie enuers lui en certaines sommes de deniers ass$^{r.}$ premierement en xl £ desterlins a cause et par vertu de certaine obligation quil auoit deuers lui et enoultre en la somme de L £ gr. desterlins a cause de certain change ou quel led. Jehan estoit enuers lui tenu et des despens et dõmaiges pour ce eus et soutenus montant ensemble a Cx £ desterlins pour laquelle somme de cx £ gr. desterlins il auoit fait arrester en lad. ville de Bruges led. Jehan Granton Et que led. Jehan estant arreste lesd. Jehan Selle et Guill Cacston constituerent plesge enuers lui den ester a droit et pour le jugie. Et pour ce que led. Jehan sen estoit parti de lad. ville de Bruges sans le auoir paie et contente ou soy p̃rte a justice pour endroit il requerroit que lesd. defendeurs fussent constrains et condempnes cõme plesges dud. Jehan en sõmes dess. declarees. Lesd. defendeurs ad ce respondant confessent que en la maniere dessudite, ils sestoient constituez plesges enuers led' Guill Craes pour ledit Jehan Granton mais disoient que led. Jehan estoit bien soluent riche assez et que tresbien lui payeroit ·requerrant pourtant que led. demandeur voulsist tenir sa debte sur led. Jehan qui est son principael debte$^{r.}$ et eulx deschargier de le$^{r.}$ d. plesgerie/ debatant aussi la sõme p. led. demandeur demandee a cause dud. change p^{r} c'taines raisons ad ce allegquies ledessusd. demandeur soy tenant a sad. plesgerie et requerrant cõme dessd. ensemble plusieurs aultres raisons par lesd. parties proposees/ et que sur ladite question oyes lesd. parties en leurs raisons et aussi c'tains marchans que lad. question auoient manye par nosd. compaignons escheuins a este dit jugie et appointie que lesd. defendeurs cõme plesges dud. Jehan Granton paieront et contenteront led. Guill Craes premierement de lad. sõme de lx £ desterlins dont ladite obligation fait mention et en oultre de la sõme de xxxv £ gr. a cause dud. change et ce que en dependt. Et ce parmi rendant lad. obligation et donnant bonne et souffisante caution plesgerie montant auxd. deux sõmes de xl £ et xxxv £ desterlins de ou cas que en temps auenir led. Jehan Granton voulsist dire cont' la debte desd. sõmes ou alleguer solution ou payement et que alencontre dud.

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* In the original this reads "en droit Guill. Cacston aussi m'chand, &c.," but the sense of the whole document proves this to be a clerical error, and that for "Guill. Cacston" we should read "Guill. Craes."

demandeur fust jugie lors rendre et paier led. jugie jusques auxd. deux sōmes et au dessoubs. Et reservez auxd. defendeurs leur action et droit enuers led Jehan Granton debte$^{r.}$ si auant que droit et raison vouldront.

Bruges Records. Civil Judgments.

En tesmoing/ etc. ij January (m iiij^{c} xlix).

F 2.

TRANSLATION.

Bruges Records. Civil Judgments. Translation.

A.D. 1449.

To all who see or hear these Presents—the Burgomasters, Sheriffs, and Council of the Town of Bruges send greeting, Be it known that William Craes, an English Merchant, Complainant, of the one part, and John Selle and William Caxton, English Merchants also, Defendants, of the other part, have this day appealed for justice before Roland de Vos and Guerard le Groote our Fellows, Sheriffs. The said Complainant says, that John Granton, Merchant, of the Staple at Calais, was bound and indebted to him in certain sums of money ; that is to say, firstly in £60 sterling for and because of a certain obligation, and further, in the sum of £50 sterling on account of a certain exchange which had taken place between them, as well as for expenses and costs incurred in that matter, amounting on the whole to £110 sterling. For this sum he had caused the said John Granton to be arrested in the Town of Bruges, and that the said John being arrested, the said John Selle and William Caxton became Sureties for him, in equity and law.

And because the said John had departed the Town of Bruges without having paid and satisfied him, or appealed for justice, he demanded that the said Defendants should be compelled and adjudged, as Sureties of the said John, to pay the said claim.

The said Defendants, in answer, acknowledged that in the manner aforesaid they had become Sureties to the said William Craes for the said John Granton, but submitted that the said John was quite solvent, rich enough, and would certainly pay the amount; requiring therefore that the said Complainant might seek his debt of the said John, who was the real debtor, and that they might be discharged from their said suretyship: disputing also the sum demanded by the Defendant on account of the said exchange, for certain reasons thereupon alleged; the aforesaid Plaintiff holding the validity of the said suretyship, and demanding as aforesaid ; together with many other reasons submitted by the said parties. And after hearing the said parties on the said questions, with their arguments, as well as certain Merchants, that the said dispute had been determined

Bruges Records.
Civil Judgments.
Translation.

A.D. 1449.

by our Fellows, Sheriffs, who had adjudged and decided: That the said Defendants should, as the Sureties of the said John Granton, pay and satisfy the said William Craes, firstly in the said sum of £60, of which the said obligation made mention, and furthermore in the sum of £35 sterling on account of the said exchange and costs. And that, upon the surrender of the said obligation, good and sufficient security amounting to the two said sums of £60 and £35 sterling should be given; that in case at some future time the said John Granton should deny the debt of the said sums, or allege payment, that then, on the other hand, the said Plaintiff should be sentenced to render and repay the said two sums and more. Right of action being reserved to the said Defendants against the said John Granton, the original debtor, as law and equity direct.

In Witness whereof, &c., 2 January (1449).

BRUGES RECORDS.—TOWN REGISTERS.

(The Archives, Bruges.)

A Register written on paper in the 15th Century, and containing Civil Judgments, given in the Town of Bruges during the years 1465-9.

G 1.

Bruges Records.
Town Registers.

A.D. 1469.
Folio cc iiij, *b.*

Comme Daniel f adrien dit scepheer daniel demandeur d'une part et Jeroneme vento pour et ou nom de Jaques dorie marchant de jennes deffendeur dautre part/ se soient soubsmis et cōpromis de toutes les differences quils auoient ensemble ou des sentence/ ordonnance et arbitraige de Willem Caxton marchant dangleterre maistre et gouuerneur des marchans de la nation dangleterre par deca/ et de thomas perrot cōme en arbitres arbitrateurs amiables compositeurs et com̃uns amis/ promettent les dites parties et chacun deulx de bien et loyalement entretenir/ obseruer et accomplir tout ce que par les dits arbitres seroit sur les dites differences des sentences ordōne et arbitre sans faire ou venir a lencontre en aucune maniere/ et que lesd' arbitres aient oy les raisons des dites parties/ et sur ce ordoñe leur sentence et ordoñance lesquelles ils ont rapporte en la plaine chambre des echeuins de Bruges/ ont este publie ausdites parties/ parceque le dit Willem Caxton sestoit necessairement retrait de la dite ville de Bruges/ est il que par la dite plaine chambre descheuins de Bruges les dites parties ont este appellees et sont comparus ausquels a este dit et signifie larbitraige et ordonnance dedits arbitres qui estoit et est tel

Bruges Records. Town Registers. A.D. 1469.

comme sensuyt/ assauoir que ledit Jeroneme vento pour et ou nom dudit Jaques dorie payera audit scepheer daniel/ en argent comptant et promptement la somme de iiij liv. gr. et que ledit Jeroneme ou nom que dessus/ prestera aud' scepheer daniel autres iiij. liv. gr. parmi tout voyes bonne caution et seurte que ledit Scepheer Daniel devra donner aud' Jeroneme vento de lui rendre et payer lad' somme de iiij. l. gr. quil lui aura prestee/ en dedans les premiers quatre voyages que ycelluy Scepheer daniel fera a toute sa neif en quelque pays que ce soit/ assauoir a chacun voyage une liure de gros/ pourueu aussi que en cas que led' Scepheer daniel ne fesist aucun voyaige auec sad' neif en dedans six mois prochain venant que alors led' Scepheer Daniel ou ses plesges seront tenus de payer et restituer aud' Jeroneme vento sans que led' Jeroneme sera tenu de attendre les autres payemens dessusnommez/ a lobservation de laquelle sentence ordonnance et arbitraige lesd' parties et chacune delles ont este par lad' plaine chambre des echeuins de Bruges este condampnez.

actum xij^a maij ā^o lxix.

G 2.

TRANSLATION.

Bruges Records. Town Registers. Translation. A.D. 1469.

Whereas Daniel F. Adrien, called Scepheer Daniel, Plaintiff of the one part, and Jeroneme Vento, for and in the names of Jaques Dorie, Merchant of Gênes, Defendant of the other part, have promised and agreed to leave all the differences between them to the judgment and arbitration of William Caxton, Merchant of England, and Master and Governor of the English Nation in these parts; and of Thomas Perrot, as Arbitrators, and amicable Umpires and common friends, the said parties, and each of them, promising well and legally to abide by, observe and perform all that the said Arbitrators shall decide and adjudicate on the said differences, without opposition of any kind. And that the said Arbitrators having heard the pleas of the said parties, and formed thereon their sentence and judgment which they have reported to the full chamber of the Sheriffs of Bruges, it has been notified to the said parties, that, because the said William Caxton was unavoidably absent from the said city of Bruges, the said parties have been summoned before the said full chamber of the Sheriffs of Bruges, and have appeared. To whom has been signified the arbitration and judgment by the said Arbitrators, which was and is as follows; that is to say—That the said Jeroneme Vento, for and in the name of the said Jaques Dorie, shall pay to the said Scepheer Daniel promptly and in current money the sum of £4 gross; and that the

Bruges Records. Town Registers. Translation.

A.D. 1469.

said Jeroneme above-named shall advance to the said Scepheer Daniel another £4 gross, the said Scepheer Daniel, however, giving good surety to the said Jeroneme that he will re-pay the said sum of £4 gross which he had advanced, within the first four voyages, in whatever country it may be, that Scepheer Daniel may make with his vessel, that is to say, on each voyage £1 gross. Provided always, that in case the said Scepheer Daniel shall not make a voyage with his said ship within the next six months, that then the said Scepheer Daniel, or his sureties, shall be bound to pay and restore to the said Jeroneme Vento (without the said Jeroneme agree to a postponement) the other payments above-named. The observance of which judgment and arbitration by the said parties, and each of them, has been decreed in the said full chamber of Sheriffs of Bruges.

Done the 12th of May, 1469.

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS' PATENT.

A Charter granted by Edward IV, for the Government of the Merchant Adventurers trading to, or resident in, the Town of Bruges.

H 1.

Merchant Adventurers' Patent.

The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation, by Richard Haklvyt, London, folio, 1604, vol. I, page 208.

A large Charter, granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherland, for their chusing of a master and gouernor among themselues, which gouernement was first appointed unto one *William Obray:* with expresse mention, what authoritie he should haue.

EDward by the grace of God king of *France*, & of *England* & lord of *Ireland*, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, and good wil. Know ye, that whereas we haue vnderstood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefs, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentions, & damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our subiects of our realmes of *France* & *England*, & our lordships of *Ireland* and *Wales*, & of other our dominions, seigneuries, and territories, because that good discretion and authority hath not bin obserued among our saide subiects, which abide, frequent, conuerse, remain, inhabit, & passe, aswel by sea as by land, into y^e parts of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and

Merchant Adventurers' Patent.

A.D. 1462.

diuers other countreis and seigneuries belonging aswel to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and louing cousin y^e^ Duke of *Burgoine*, of *Brabant*, earle of *Flanders*, &c. as being in the obedience & dominion of other lords, which are in friendship, alliance, and good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that through the saide inconuenience and occasion, many discommodities may ensue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we should prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our subiects aforesaid: wherefore we desiring most effectually and heartily to auoide the mischiefe of the saide inconueniences & to prouide conuenient remedy for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subiects of our said realms & dominions, which at this present & hereafter shal haunt and frequent y^e^ said countreis, may be iustly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis aforesaid, and that equity, reason, and iustice may be ministred vnto them and euery of them, according as the cases shal require, we being wel assured and hauing ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulnes, wisdome, experience, and good diligence of our most deare and welbeloued subiect *Will. Obray* our seruant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable seruices, which he hath done vs in our realm and among our subiects in times past, & hoping that he wil do also hereafter, we haue made, ordained, constituted, cōmitted, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, ful power, and authority royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (during our pleasure) to be gouernor, iudge, warden of iustice, and the appurtenances & appendances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our said common subiects the marchants trauailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and other countreis beyond the sea, as is aforesaide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emoluments heretofore accustomed, & as the said *Will. Obray* at other times hath had and receiued of our said subiects, when he had vsed, and exercised the said office of gouernor, & also with other such rights and profits, as hereafter shal more plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by these presents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleasure, ful power, authority, and special commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cause to be gouerned and ruled with good iustice by himselfe, or by his sufficient lieuetenants or deputies, all and euery our foresaid subiects the common marchants & mariners comming,

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remaining, frequenting, passing, and repairing from henceforth into the said countreis of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise & maintein, for vs and in our place, the said office of gouernour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, & to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subiects, and of euery of them, and of their causes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & borders therof, and to doe them full & speedy iustice. And to reforme, cause reformation, gouerne, appease, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subiects moued, or to moued: and to right, redresse, repaire, restore, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterprises, outrages, violences, and iniuries comitted or to be cōmitted: and likewise to require, to aske, demand, and receiue, restitutions, reparations, restaurations, and amends of our said subiects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factors in the coūtreis aforesaid. And that, whensoeuer and as often as it shal please the said gouernor or his deputies, they may in some conuenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name iurisdictions, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaide, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to minister iustice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constraine our saide subiects to sweare, and take all kind of oathes, which order of iustice and custome require and affoorde, and to enioye our authoritie, and to vse, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and iustice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and iustice; and to ordain, appoint, and establish sixe sergeants or vnder, to doe the executions and arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said gouenour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their aduise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good vnto him, as often and whensoeuer as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answere of the court, whensoeuer need shal be, of all causes, quarels, and businesses in regard of the said office belonging vnto vs and to our said subiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case

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shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for vs and in our stead, in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shalbe declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreouer wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee giue and graunt vnto the saide gouernour, and to our saide subiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoeuer it please them, they may meet and assemble in some honest and conuenient place, and by the consent of the said gouernour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelue or vnder, which we wil haue to be named Justicers, vnto the which Justicers so elected by the saide gouernour, and our saide subiects, as it is said, and to euerie of them, we giue and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assist in court, with the said gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subiects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoeuer moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainely to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, vpon the causes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and aduise the saide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, iudge and determine, and ende the same iustly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we wil, that all iust and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaide, by the consent of the said gouernour, and of the saide Justicers, shalbe corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to bee expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subiects, and shalbe held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow, and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmely and inuiolably obserued, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said gouernour, our said subiects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the saide countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better gouernment and estate, such iust and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions,

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and customes, as they shal thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we cōmand to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approued, auailable, and established. Prouided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing preiudicial to this present power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the saide gouernour, in any poynt or article heerein comprised, by any meanes or way whatsoeuer: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and vtterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and absolute power, & speciall authority to our said seruant *William Obray*, & to his said lieutenants. And likewise, to the end that y^e course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of iustice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue consented & do consent, and by these presents haue giuen and do giue ful power & especiall authority to our said seruant *Will. Obray* gouernour aforesaid, that at al time and times when he shal think good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and seruitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal think necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, & set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, vnto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or brokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betweene our said subiects and others with whom they shal haue to do or to deale in the foresaid countries: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure al kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the yard: and also as many weighers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence & preseruation of their marchandize. Al which ministers, officers, and seruitors, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide gouernour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the said marchants, according to the custome of the said countreis, and as they haue been accustomed to take of the

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said marchants before these presents by vs given and graunted. And hereupon we haue giuen and doe giue expresse charge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our said subiects common marchants and mariners, and to euery of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countreis sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretely nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoeuer, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soeuer they be, without he hath some of the said brokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said gouernor or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow therof betweene them: nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, dryfats, or rowles, without hauing some deputy present thereat: nor to take or cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countreis, any other brokers, alnagers, weighers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide gouernor, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is said, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to haue passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be imployed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of *Saint Thomas* of Canterburie by our saide subiects, in the townes of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and of *Middleborough* in *Zeland;* the other fourth part to vs, & our vse; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which shall discouer, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subiects shall vnlade or cause to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor otherwise, nor vnpacke, in the countreis aboue saide, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandises whatsoeuer, which they shall bring or cause to bee brought into the countreyes aforesaide, comming out of our countreyes, dominions, or obeysance, without first and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriuall, and craue leaue, and deliuer, shewe, and declare their cockets, that it may duely appeare, that the saide goods and

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marchandises haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rights and customes, and not to vnpacke them but in the presence of the saide gouernour, his lieuetenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfaiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide gouernor, his lieuetenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoeuer be arriued and discharged in the countreis aforesaid, belonging to our said subiectes, not lawfully customed and acquited towarde vs of our right and custome, for which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofe of our letters of coquet, as is metioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze upon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also wee will, that euery one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, roules, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shalbe packed, to be sent out of the said countreis, shall not be laden vpon ships, carts, nor horses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordayned by vs and giuen by the sayd gouernour, vpon paine to be forfayted, applyed, and confiscated to vs and into our hand, if they be found vnsigned and not sealed with the seale. And for euery piece of marchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of *Flanders*, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd gouernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to vse the labour, trauels, nor seruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great trauels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profit of vs and our selves, as for the holesome, perfect, & good gouernment of our sayd subiects: we by the good aduise and deliberation of the sayd lords of our priuie counsell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our sayd grace, to the said *William Obray* our sayd seruant and gouernour abouenamed, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of *England* of the value of a liuer of grosse money of *Flanders*, vpon al and singuler the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subiects frequenting the said countreis to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed

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vnto the said *William Obray* or to his deputies, vpon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging vnto our sayd said subiects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys abouesaid, aswel of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countreis: as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to bee caried and conueyed out of those countreis into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoeuer. And to cause the same to be gathered, receiued, leauied, and payed, we haue giuen, and by these presents doe giue full power and speciall authoritie vnto the sayd *William Obray*, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leauy, gather, and cause to be leauied and receiued the sayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vse, during our pleasure: and to enioy and vse the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subiects, their sayd goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iustice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, vpon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure, and so will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd *William Obray*, ouer and aboue that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receiue of our sayd subiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our sayd subiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of gouernour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that hee shall gather, take, and receiue the same in such forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd *William Obray* may haue and take possession, season, and enterance of the said office of gouernour in our name we have and doe place him, by the deliuery of these presents, in possession, season, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and moneis aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of gouernour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing, after the date of these presents, for the sayd *William Obray* to hold and exercise, practise and vse the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profites, aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subiects the common

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marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said gouernour so ordayned by vs, to his sayd lieutenants, to the sayd iusticers so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the statutes, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances and customes, offices, gifts, and grants abouesayd, let them grieuously be punished by the sayd gouernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, commaund, straitly and expressly enioine by these presents all and euery our saide subiects, that vnto the sayd gouernour so by vs ordained, to his lieutenauts, attorneis, or deputies, and also to the said iusticers, officers, and ministers, in all and euerie the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their gouernmēt and rule, the circumstances and dependances thereon that they giue their attendance, counsayle, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully, and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoeuer: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the preiudice of these presents, they shall remoue and cause the same to be remooued, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee haue it, notwithstanding anie letters falsely crept in, obtayned, or to be obtayned contrary hereunto. And you our subiects, the common marchants and mariners, so hehaue your selues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, aswell princes and potentates, as their iusticers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, iusticers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may haue occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selues beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witnes our selues at *Westminster*, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our reigne.

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ISSUE ROLL OF THE EXCHEQUER.

J.

A.D. 1479.

Under the date of "Easter. 19 Edward IV, 15th June," is the following:—

To William Caxton. In money paid to his own hands in discharge of 20 *l.* which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to the same William for certain causes and matters performed by him for the said Lord the King.

By writ of privy seal amongst the mandates of this term 20 *l.*

Extract from "Issues of the Exchequer; being a Collection of Payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue from Hen. III to Hen. VI inclusive," by Fred. Devon, 4to, London, 1837, page 499.

ST. MARGARET'S RECORDS.—CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

(In the Vestry of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster).

A Volume of biennial Accounts of the Churchwardens, audited by the chief Parishioners. Each Account is written on a quire of parchment, complete in itself; they vary considerably in size, but have been carefully bound in one Volume, and are in beautiful condition. The period included in this Volume is from 1464 to 1503. The contents consist of —Receipts of Fees for Burials, Obits, &c.—Rents—Legacies, and Gifts —Payments for Repairs—Salaries—Pew-rents—Collections—and other expenses.

K 1.

A.D. 1474.

"Compūs Thome Frampton & Willī Stafford custod' bonorꝰ & ornamentorꝰ ecclīe ꝑochial' scē margarete Westm̃ videl't a xvij° die Maij A° regis Edwardi quarti post conqm̃ Angl' quarto vsqȝ xxij diem eiusdm̃" * * *

In the List of Fees for Burial is—

"It^{m} rec^{d} de Oliver Cawston die sepult᷑ ꝑ iiij tapr' viij d"

St. Margaret's
Records.
Churchwardens'
Accounts.
——
A.D. 1476-92.

K 2.

Among the Miscellaneous Receipts for 1476—

"It^{m} of a Rewarde for a boke & a Chales lent to Sir Ric' Wideuyle xx d"

K 3.

"Here folowith Thaccompt of John Wycam and of Nicholas Wollescroft Wardeins of the parisshe Churche of seynt margarete of Westm̃ * * from the vijth day of the moneth of may in the yere of our lord god M^{e} CCCC lxxviij * * * vnto the xviijth day of may in the yere of our lord god M^{l} CCCC lxxx" * * *

In the List of Fees for Burial in the first year—

"It^{m} the day of burying of William Caxton for ij torchis and iiij tapirs at a lowe masse xx d"

The amount paid does not appear large; but in a very long list of burial fees there are only four equal in amount, the common rate of fees being ij d, iiij d, or vj d.

K 4.

The same Account. In the List of Fees for burial in the second year—

"It^{m} the day of bureying of Jone large for ij tapirs iiij d"

K 5.

The Audit at the end of the same Account is as follows:—

"The whiche som̃e of xxiij li. x s v d ob. q^{a} the forsaide wardeyns haue paide and delyuēd in the fulle Audite vnto william Garard and William Hachet their Successours togeder w^{t} the tresoures of and in the chirche aforeseid to them delyuēd in the begynnyng of this accompte * * in the presence of John Randolf squyer Richard Vmfrey gentilman Thomas Burgeys John Kendall notary William Caxton * * with other paryshyns" * *

K 6.

In the Account for the years 1490-2, among the Burial Fees for the first year—

"Itm̃ atte Bureyng of Mawde Caxston for torches & tapres iij s ij d"

In the second year—

"Itm̃ atte Bureyng of William Caxton for iiij torches vj s viij d"
"Itm̃ for the belle atte same bureyng vj d"

Here we remark again that in both these cases the fees paid are considerably larger than usual.

St. Margaret's Records. Churchwardens' Accounts.

A.D. 1496-1502.

K 7.

In the Accounts for 1496-8 among the Legacies, and their produce—

"It^{m} receyued by the handes of William Ryolle for oone of thoo printed bokes that were bequothen to the Churche behove by William Caxston vj s viij d"

"It^{m} receyued by the handes of the said William for a nother of the same printed Bokes called a legend vj s iiij d"

"It^{m} by the hands of the parisshe prest for a nother of the same legendes vj s viij d"

At the end of the Account—

"Memorand' there remayneth in store to the said Chirch"

"It^{m} in bokes called legendes of the bequest of William Caxton xiij d"

K 8.

Among the Payments at the end of the same Account—

"It^{m} paide for a supper gevyn vnto the Auditours herynge and determenyng this accompt and to the newe Chirchwardeyns as it hath ben vsed and accustumed here tofore xx s"

K 9.

In the Accounts for 1498-1500—

"The Receites of Bookes called Legendes in the first yere of this accompte"

"Fyrst Receyued of John Crosse for a prainted legende v s viij d"

"Item Receiued for a nother legende solde in Westmynster halle v s viij d"

"Item Receiued of Willm̃ Geyfe for a nother of the same legendes v s viij d"

"It^{m} Receiued of the sayde Willm̃ geyfe for another Legende v s viij d"

"Item R of Wāter Marten for a nother legende v s xj d"

In the second year of the same account—

"Item R. of William Geiffe for ij legendes printed x s iiij d"

"It^{m} R of Daniell aforge for a printed legende v s x d"

"Item R of William Geiffe for a printed legende v s"

"Memorand' ther remayneth in store to the saide chirch" * * *

"It^{m} in bokes called Legendes of the bequest of William Caxton iij"

In the accounts for 1500-2 there are not entered any sales of "Legends."

"Ther remayneth in store to the saide chirche" * * *

"Item a prynted legende booke of the bequeste of Willm̃ Caxton."

ST. MARGARET'S RECORDS.

GUILD OF OUR LADY; WARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

(In the Vestry of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.)

A Volume of triennial Accounts of the Fraternity of our Blessed Lady Assumption, beautifully written on vellum, and in excellent preservation. It includes the period between 1474 and 1522, and is of very great interest in illustrating the customs of that period. The earlier as well as the later Volumes are not known to exist. The following are the principal headings of the various Accounts—Arrears of Members—Rents received—Bequests and Gifts—Receipts for Obits of Members—Fees of new Members—Rents paid—Payments of Salaries—Wages—Annuities to Almsmen and Women—House-repairs—Wax Candles, and other expenses, for the Shrine of our Lady in St. Margaret's Church—and Miscellaneous expenses.

L 1.

The first Account is headed—

24th June, 1474, to 24th June, 1477.

"This is thaccompte of maister William Thirleby henry marble gentilman and James Fytt maistres or Wardeyns chosen of the Frat'ñte or gylde of oure blessed lady seint mary the virgyn w^{t}in the ꝑissh chirch of seint margaret of the towne of Westm̃ in the shire of midd' founded, that is to say from the fest of Natiuite of seint John Baptist in the yere of y^{e} reigne of kyng Edward the iiijth after the conquest xiiij vnto the said fest of the Natiuite of seint John the xvijth yere of the reigne of the same kyng by three hole yeres as it ꝑticulerly appiereth in ꝑcellez here folowyng that is to wete."

L 2.

Under Payments of Rent in the same Account—

"Also the said late maistres charge themsilf w^{t} a certeyn quite rent due by John Randolff of london mercer for a licence of Fre entre of comyng in and going out for his teñntes thurgh the gate and an Alley called our lady Alley in the kynges Strete of the towne of westm^{r}."

L 3.

In the same Account, under "thentre of diũes ꝑsones of new to the said frat͛nite" is "John Caxton vj s viij d."

Also among the Payments—

"Diũers payments by the said late maisters for the said Fraternite * * of the which thay axe to be allowed in this accompt."

St. Margaret's Records.
Guild of our Lady; Wardens' Accounts.
A.D. 1474-77.

"Of the money by them paid to the wardeins of the Craft of mercery of london for certain quite rent going out of the teñtꝰ in the ꝑisshe of Aldermaric Chirche of london at v s by the yere."

The Fraternity appear also to have held tenements in King Street, Westminster, at Kensington, and at Stroud.

L 4.

In the same Account, after the payment of six priests' salaries—

"Costes and ꝑcelles allowed by the hole Brotherhode toward thexpences of the geñall fest in iij^{de} yere of this accompt."

These "Costs and Parcels" occupy two full folio pages, and have yielded the following items:—

"A tonn of wyne	vj li"
"Paide to John Drayton chief cok for his reward	xxv s"
"Also for the hire of xxiiij doseyn of erthen pottes for ale & wyne	iiij s"
"Also for erthen pottes broken & wasted at the same fest	vj s viij d"
"Also to iiij players for their labour	xij s x d"
"Also to iij mynstrelles	ix s xd"
"Also for the mete of diũes strangers	xvj s"
"Also for russhes	ij s iiij d"
"Also for vj doseyn of white cuppes	iij s"

* * * *

"Also for portage and botehyre of the Turbut	iiij d"
"Also for ix Turbutts	xv s ij d"

In addition to scores of "Capons, chekyns, gese, conyes, and peiones (pigeons), the chief "cok" provided them with "swannys" and "herons," with all sorts of fish, including oysters and "see pranys," or prawns, with all kinds of meats and game, with jellies in "ix dosen gely disshes," and with abundance of fruits. The quantity of ale, wine, and ypocras provided by the butler is marvellous, and one cannot wonder at the heavy entries for "pottes and cuppes broken, and wasted." The Cook seems to have been paid much more liberally than the Wardens, who had but xxx s between them "for their dilligence."

L 5.

In the Accounts for 1490-3 are the Receipts of Rent from tenements, known as "The Maidenhead," "The Sonne," "The Rose," and "The Wolstaple."

St. Margaret's Records. Guild of our Lady; Wardens' Accounts.

A.D. 1490-93.

Also, under payment of Rent—

"For a certayn Quit rent paid out of a litell teñt in the wolstaple to the mair of the staple at xx d by the yere."

"Also for a certayn Quit rent paid out of the Rents in Aldermãy pisshe to John More Renter of the Mercers xv s"

M.

RYMER'S FŒDERA.—SUPER TREUGIS BURGUNDIÆ.

"Rex omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

"Sciatis quòd,

A.D. 1464.

"Rymer's Fœdera," folio, London, 1710, vol. XI, page 536, 4 Ed. 4.

"Cúm certa Appunctuamenta, Intercursum Mercandisarum inter Subditos nostros ac Subditos carissimi Consanguinei nostri *Ducis Burgundiæ* concernentia, sub certis Modo & Formâ ante hæc tempora Concordata fuerant & Conclusa sæpiúsque interim Prorogata,

"Nos,

"Appunctuamenta illa pro Parte nostra teneri & observari volentes, Ac de Fidelitatibus & providis Circumspectionibus, Dilectorum & Fidelium nostrorum, *Richardi Whetehill* Armigeri, & *Willielmi Caxton*, pleniùs confidentes,

"Ipsos *Richardum* & *Willielmum* nostros veros & indubitatos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, & Deputatos speciales Facimus, Ordinamus & Constituimus per Præsentes;

"Dantes & Concedentes eisdem Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis nostris, & eorum utrique, plenam Potestatem & Auctoritatem ac Mandatum generale & speciale ad Conveniendum, Tractandum, et Comunicandum cum *præfato Consanguineo nostro* seu ejus Ambassiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis, & Deputatis, sufficientem Potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo nostro ad hoc habentibus, de & super Continuatione Intercursûs prædicti & Prorogatione ejusdem, &, si necesse fuerit, de novo Capiendâ, Appunctuandâ & Concludendâ,

"Cæteraque omnia & singula, quæ in Præmissis necessaria fuerint & oportuna, Faciendum & Excercendum;

"Promittentes, bonâ Fide, & in Verbo Regio, Nos Ratum, Gratum, & Firmum pro perpetuo habituros totum & quicquid per dictos Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios, and Deputatos nostros, seu eorum alterum,

in formâ prædictâ, Actum, Gestum, seu Procuratum fuerit in Præmissis, seu aliquo Præmissorum.

Rymer's Fœdera.
Super Treugis Burgundiæ.
A.D. 1464.

"In cujus &c.

"Teste Rege apud *Wycombe* Vicesimo Die Octobris.

TRANSLATION.

CONCERNING THE TREATY OF BURGUNDY.

The King to all whom it may concern &c. Greeting.

Be it known that

Inasmuch as determinate arrangements concerning the intercourse of merchandise between our subjects and the subjects of our well beloved Cousin the Duke of Burgundy have in a sure form and manner been accorded and agreed to in times past and since that time often renewed,

Rymer's Fœdera.
Super Treugis Burgundiæ.
Translation.
October, 1464.

We,

Wishing on our part to hold good and observe such arrangements, and being well assured of the faithfulness and discretion of our well beloved subjects Richard Whetehill, Knight, and William Caxton,

Do make, ordain and constitute, by these presents, the said Richard and William our true and accredited Ambassadors, Agents, Nuncios, and special Deputies;

Giving and Granting to our said Ambassadors, Agents, Nuncios, and Deputies and to either of them, full power and authority and general as well as special commandment to meet, to enter into treaty and to communicate with our aforesaid Cousin or his Ambassadors, Agents, Nuncios, and Deputies delegated with sufficient powers for this purpose by our said Cousin, concerning and upon the continuation and renewal of the aforesaid Intercourse, and, should occasion require, to make and conclude new arrangements,

And to do and exercise all and singular other deeds which may be fit or necessary.

Promising, in good faith and on our kingly word, always to hold as ratified, acceptable, and binding, all and any the Acts and Deeds of our said Ambassadors, Agents, Nuncios, and Deputies, or either of them, as aforesaid, which may be done, performed, or done by procuration, in the foregoing matters, or any portion thereof.

As witness our hand at Wycombe, this 20th day of October.

Rymer's Fœdera. De Receptione Ordinis Garterii

A.D. 1469.

N 1.

RYMER'S FŒDERA.

RECOGNITIO CAROLI DUCIS BURGUNDIÆ DE RECEPTIONE ORDINIS GARTERII.

Charles, par la Grace de Dieu, *Duc de Bourgoingne*, *de Lothrein*, *de Brabant*, *de Lembourg*, *& de Lucembourg*, *Conte de Flandres*, *d'Artois*, *de Bourgoingne*, *Palatin de Haynnau*, *de Hollande*, *de Zellande*, *& de Namur*, *Marquis du Saint Empire*, *Seigneur de Frise*, *de Salins*, *& de Malines*, Certiffions, & Faisons savoir a tous que,

Par les Mains de Messire *Galiard Seigneur de Duras* Chevalier, *Thomas Vaghan* Escuier & Tresorier de la Chambre, Maistre *Jehan Russell*, Docteur en Decret Arcediacre de Berksuir, & *Jartier Roy d'Armes*, Conseilliers & Ambaxeurs de Treshault & Trespuissant Prince nostre Treshonnore Seigneur & Frere *le Roy d'Angleterre*, Soverain de *l'Ordre de la Jartiere*, pour ce envoiez devers Nous,

Nous avons aujourduy Receu son dit *Ordre de la Jartiere*, ensemble les Mantel, & autres Aournemens, & Choses au dit Ordre appartenans & accoustumees;

Et avec ce avons, en leurs Mains, fait le Serement a ce requis & partinent, selon les Estatus d'icellui Ordre,

Le tout soubz les Conditions & Modifications, sur ce avisees & faittes entre Lui & Nous.

Donne en nostre *Ville de Gand;* soubz nostre Grand Seel, le Quart Jour de Fevrier, l'An de Grace Mille, Quatrecens, Soixante Neuf.

Par Monseigneur le Duc

Scoenhove.

Sub Magno Sigillo præfati Ducis, de cerâ rubrâ, pendente a candâ Pergamenæ.

Rymer's Fœdera. De Receptione Ordinis Garterii. Translation.

A.D. 1469.

N 2.

TRANSLATION.

Charles, by the grace of God, Duke of Burgundy, &c. &c. &c. We hereby certify and make known to all, that this day we have received by the hands of Messire Galiard, Seigneur de Duras, Chevalier; Thomas Vaughan, Esquire, and Treasurer of the Chamber; Mr. John Russell, Doctor of Decrees, Archdeacon of Berkshire; and Garter King-at-Arms; Councillors and Ambassadors of the high and mighty Prince, our honoured Seigneur and Brother the King of England, Sovereign of the

Rymer's Fœdera.
De Receptione
Ordinis Garterii.
Translation.

A.D. 1469.

Order of the Garter, sent over to us for the purpose, His said Order of the Garter, together with the Mantle and other decorations and appurtenances, usual and belonging to the said Order. And have taken the requisite Oath belonging and according to the Statutes of the said Order, subject to the Conditions and Modifications agreed upon and made between him and us.

Given under our Great Seal, in our City of Ghent, the Fourth Day of February, One Thousand Four Hundred and Sixty Nine.

By Monseigneur the Duke

SCOENHOVE.

To this is attached, in red wax, at the end of a strip of parchment, the Great Seal of the said Duke.

BRUGES RECORDS.—CHURCH OF ST. DONATUS.

The following Extracts have been taken from an interesting Account of Colard Mansion, by the Abbé Carton, of Bruges.

O 1.

Bruges Records.
Church of
St. Donatns.

A.D. 1484.

Extract from "Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges," tome V, 2^{e} série, 8vo. 1847. page 364.

In the Records of the Chapter of the Church of St. Donatus, at Bruges, under the date 9th September, 1484, is the following:—

Colardus Mansion profugit.

"Deinde ordinatum est dicī D^{o} Petro De Clenguemeure quod hinc ad festum Remigii conferret capitulum an Colardus Mansion rediturus sit vel non, ut camercula sua in ambitu alteri in locagium dari posset."

O 2.

Under date of 11th October, in the same year:—

"Retulit D^{s} Burgardus magister fabrice se fecisse conditionem cum Johanne Gossin, ligatore librorum supra locagio camere in ambitu nuper Mauricii De Haec, novissime Colardi Mansion profugi, pro 24 lib, paris. annuatim et quod idem Johannes per pactum expressum solvere habebit fabrice de 12 scutatis Flandrie quod dictus Colardus debet ex eodem locagio."

O 3.

Under date of 8th October, in the same year—

"Retulit D^{s} Burgardus Keddekin, magister fabrice se dedisse in locagium ambas cameras in ambitu sub dormitorio sex annorum spatio; unam

Bruges Records. Church of St. Donatus.

A.D. 1484.

videlicet que erat Colardi Mansion, qui recessit hospite insalutato, Johanni Gossin, ligatori librorum et aliam illi contiguam a parte meridionali Wilhelmo De Brauwere librario, cuilibet pro 24 lib. paris. solvendis annuatim officio fabrice in quatuor terminis videlicet Nativitatis Pasche, Johannis, et Bavonis, quolibet annuo termino ab utroque eorum 6 lib. paris. et incepit locagium utriusque in festo Bavonis novissime preterito. Sed prefatus Johannes ultra premissa tenebitur ex pacto expresso prosemel solvere sex coronas quas debebat dictus Colardus Mansion, periculo suo recuperandas, si possit; quibus auditis Domini premissa ratificatione, decreverunt eisdem Johanni et Guillelmo littras supra locagio hujusmodi in forma.

THE

ORIGINAL WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM CAXTON;

COMPRISING THE

PROLOGUES, PROHEMES, AND EPILOGUES

ATTACHED TO HIS TRANSLATIONS;

TOGETHER WITH HIS HISTORICAL WORK, ENTITLED

"POLICRONICON, LIBER ULTIMUS;"

THE LAST BEING A CONTINUATION OF THE WELL-KNOWN

POLICRONICON

ATTRIBUTED TO RALPH HIGDEN, MONK OF CHESTER.

REMARKS ON CAXTON'S PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES.

No argument is needed to prove the importance of reprinting Caxton's original writings in their original orthography; but when we find, although several of his publications during his lifetime reached a second, and even a third edition, that only in two instances ("Chess-Book" and "Chronicles") did he sanction, in such reprints, any alteration either in his remarks or the date of imprint, the question arises whether a variation in the orthography, which alone constitutes the difference between the various editions, is of sufficient importance to warrant a double or treble reprint of the same remarks.

In Lewis, Ames, and Herbert, the Prologues, &c. are quoted literatim from *one* of the editions (mostly the *first*), the others being unrepresented. This preferential plan is certainly open to objection, and Dibdin, in the "Typographical Antiquities," avoided the difficulty by rejecting the original orthography, and presenting his readers with a 19th-Century version of Caxton's remarks; a plan still more objectionable.

Were the *matter* the only consideration, the reproduction of one edition might be thought sufficient; but, as we must also give due importance to the *manner*—as no two editions agree in their typographical arrangement of lines and pages, an important point to the Bibliographer—as the orthographical variations are interesting to the Philologist—as the punctuation is often dissimilar, which two last points may form an important element in the meaning of a phrase—and, as the intention is to present the reader with *all* the Prologues and Epilogues *as they came from Caxton's press*, it is difficult to determine which can be omitted; and they are therefore all reprinted in the following collection, the second and third editions being distinguished by smaller type.

Great care has been taken to give as accurate an idea of the originals as is possible with modern type. For this purpose a careful transcript has been taken in every instance from the books themselves, with strict attention to the orthography and punctuation. For the satisfaction of those who take a bibliographical interest in the various editions, or who might wish to supply imperfections in their own copies (which mostly occur at the beginning and end), the lines and pages have been marked thus:

End of a line | End of a page ||

The points of punctuation are / / : · .

In several instances the prefatory remarks, hitherto considered to have been added by Caxton himself, have proved, on comparison with the old French manuscripts, to be translations or adaptations. In such cases the original French is appended to the English text.

PROLOGUES, EPILOGUES, &c.

THE RECUYELL OF THE HISTORIES OF TROYE.

Title and Prologue to Book I.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. c. 1.

Begin *recto* of 2nd leaf, the 1st leaf being blank.

h

Ere begynneth the volume intituled and named | the recuyell of the historyes of Troye / composed | and drawen out of dyuerce bookes of latyn in | to frensshe by the ryght venerable persone and wor- | shipfull man . Raoul le ffeure . preest and chapelayn | vnto the ryght noble gloryous and myghty prynce in | his tyme Phelip duc of Bourgoyne of Braband &c | In the yere of the Incarnacion of our lord god a thou- | sand foure honderd sixty and foure / And translated | and drawen out of frenshe in to englisshe by Willyam | Caxton mercer of yͤ cyte of London / at the comaūdemēt | of the right hye myghty and vertuouse Pryncesse hys | redoubtyd lady . Margarete by the grace of god . Du- | chesse of Bourgoyne of Lotryk of Braband &c / | Whiche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in | Brugis in the Countee of Flaundres the fyrst day of | marche the yere of the Incarnacion of our said lord god | a thousand foure honderd sixty and eyghte / And ended | and fynysshid in the holy cyte of Colen the . xix . day of | septembre the yere of our sayd lord god a thousand | foure honderd sixty and enleuen &c |

And on that other side of this leef foloweth the prologe

Begin *verso* of 2nd leaf.

Han I remembre that euery man is bounden | by the comandement & counceyll of the wyse | man to eschewe slouthe and ydlenes why- | che is moder and nourysshar of vyces and | ought to put my self vnto vertuous ocupacion and be- | synesse / Than I hauynge no grete charge of ocupacion | folowynge the sayd counceyll / toke a frenche booke | and redde therin many strange and meruayllous histo- | ryes where in I had grete pleasyr and delyte / as well | for the nouelte of the same as for the fayr langage of | frenshe . whyche was in prose so well and compen- | diously sette and wreton / whiche me thought I vnder | stood the sentence and substance of euery mater / And | for so moche as this booke was newe and late maad | and drawen in to frenshe / and neuer had seen hit in oure | englissh tongue / I thought in my self hit shold be a good | besynes to translate hyt in to oure englissh / to thende | that hyt myght be had as well in the royame of Eng- | lond as in other landes / and also for to

The Recuyell.

passe therwyth | the tyme . and thus concluded in my self to begynne this | sayd
wrke / And forthwith toke penne and ynke and | began boldly to renne forth
as blynde bayard in thys | presente werke whyche is named the recuyell of the|
troian historyes And afterward whan I remembryd | my self of my symplenes
and vnperfightnes that I had | in bothe langages/ that is to wete in frenshe &
in englissh | for in france was I neuer / and was born & lerned myn | englissh in
kente in the weeld where I doubte not is spo-|ken as brode and rude englissh
as is in ony place of eng-|lond & haue contynued by the space of . xxx . yere
Begin *recto* of 3rd leaf. for the | most parte in the contres of Braband . flandres holand || and zeland and
thus when alle thyse thynges cam | to fore me aftyr that y had made and
wretyn a fyve | or six quayers · y fyll in dispayr of thys werke and | purposid
nomore to haue contynuyd therin and tho | quayers leyd a part and in two yere
aftyr laboured | nomore in thys werke And was fully in wyll to | haue lefte
hyt . tyll on a tyme hit fortuned that the ry|ght hyghe excellent and right
vertuous prynces my | ryght redoughted lady mylady Margarete by the | grace
of god suster vnto y^e kynge of englond and of | frāce . my souerayn lord
Duchesse of Bourgoine of | lotryk . of brabant. of lymburgh . and of luxenburgh|
Countes of fflādres of artoys & of bourgoine Pala|tynee of heynawd of holand
of zelād and of namur | Marquesse of y^e holy empire . lady of ffryse of salius |
and of mechlyn sente for me to speke wyth her good | grace of dyuerce
maters among y^e whyche y lete her | hyenes haue knowleche of y^e forsayd
begynnyng of | thys werke whiche anone comanded me to shewe | the sayd . v .
or . vi . quayers to her sayd grace and wh | an she had seen hem . anone she
fonde a defaute in myn | englissh whiche sche comāded me to amende ād
mo | re ouer comanded me straytli to contynue and make | an ende of the
resydue than not translated . whos dre | defull comādement y durste in no wyse
disobey becau | se y am a seruāt vnto her sayde grace and resseiue of | her
yerly ffee and other many goode and grete benefe- | tes . and also hope many
moo to resseyne of her hye-|nes but forth wyth wente and labouryde in the
sayde | translacion aftyr my symple and pour connyng also | nigh as y can
Begin *verso* of 3rd leaf. folouyng myn auctour mekeli beseching || the bounteuous hyenes of my said
lady that of her be- | nyuolence liste to accepte & take in gree this symple & |
rude werke here folowyng . and yf ther be ony thing | wreton or sayd to her
playsir . y shall thynke my la- | bour well enployed and where as ther is
defawte . y^t | she arette hyt to y^e symplenes of my connying whiche | is ful small
in this behalue and requyre & praye alle | them that shall rede this sayd werke
to correcte hyt & | to hold me excusid of the rude & symple translacion | And
thus y ende my prologe. . .

The Recuyell.

Lefevre ends the last chapter of Book II. thus: "And they of athens bewayllid hym strongly some for his scyence and other for his vertues wher of J wyll now arye." Caxton adding—

Recto of 251st leaf, line 24.

Besechyng her that is cause of this trans- | lacōn out of frenshe in to this symple and rude englissh / | that is to wete my right redoubtyd lady Margrete by | the grace of god suster of my souerayn lord the kynge | of englond and of ffrance &c Duchesse of bourgoyne | and of Brabent &c that she wole resseyue my Rude | labour in thanke and in gree:.

Epilogue to Book II.

Begin *verso* of 251st leaf.

Hus endeth the seconde book of the recule of the his- | toryes of Troyes / Whiche bookes were late trans- | lated in to frenshe out of latyn / by the labour of the vene | rable persone raoul le feure preest as a fore is said/ And | by me Indigne and vnworthy translated in to this rude | englissh / by the comandement of my said redoubtid lady | duches of Bourgone : And for as moche as I suppose | the said two bokes ben not had to fore this tyme in oure | englissh langage / therfore I had the better will to accom | plisshe this said werke / whiche werke was begonne in | Brugis / & contynued in gaunt And finysshid in Coleyn | In the tyme of yᵉ troublous world / and of the grete deuy | sions beyng and reygnyng as well in the royames of | englond and fraunce as in all other places vnyuersally | thurgh the world that is to wete the yere of our lord a- | thousand four honderd lxxi . And asfor the thirde book | whiche treteth of the generall & last destruccōn of Troye | Hit nedeth not to translate hit in to englissh / ffor as mo- | che as that worshifull and religyoꝰ man dan Iohn lidgate | monke of Burye dide translate hit but late / after whos | werke I fere to take vpon me that am not worthy to bere | his penner & ynke horne after hym . to medle me in that | werke . But yet for as moche as I am bounde to con- | templare my sayd ladyes good grace and also that his | werke is in ryme / And as ferre as I knowe hit is not | had in prose in our tonge / And also paraventure / he | translated after some other Auctor than this is / And | yet for as moche as dyuerce men ben of dyuerce desyres . | Some to rede in Ryme and metre. and some in prose | And also be cause that I haue now good leyzer beyng in | Coleyn And haue none other thynge to doo at this tyme || In eschewyng of ydlenes moder of all vices . I haue de- | libered in my self for the contemplacion of my sayd re | doubtid lady to take this laboure in hand by yᵉ suffrance | and helpe of almyghty god . whome I mekely supplye | to gyue me grace to accomplysshe hit to the playsir of | her that is causer therof and that she resseyue hit in gre | of me her faithfull trewe & moste humble seruant &c . |

Begin *recto* of 252nd leaf.

The Recuyell.

Epilogue to Book III.

Begin *recto* of 351st leaf.

†

Hus ende I this book whyche I haue transla- | ted after myn Auctor as nyghe as god hath gy- | uen me connyng to whom be gyuen the laude & | preysyng / And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the | same my penne is worn / myn hande wery & not stedfast | myn eyen dīmed with ouermoche lokyng on the whit | paper/ and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure | as hit hath ben / and that age crepeth on me dayly and | febleth all the bodye / and also be cause I haue promysid | to dyuerce gentilmen and to my frendes to addresse to hem | as hastely as I myght this sayd book / Therfore I haue | practysed & lerned at my grete charge and dispense to | ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner & forme | as ye may here see / and is not wreton with penne and | ynke as other bokes ben / to thende that euery man may | haue them attones / ffor all the bookes of this storye na- | med the recule of the historyes of troyes thus enpryntid | as ye here see were begonne in oon day / and also fynys- | shid in oon day / whiche book I haue presented to my | sayd redoubtid lady as a fore is sayd. And she hath | well acceptid hit / and largely rewarded me / wherfore | I beseche almyghty god to rewarde her euerlastyng blisse | after this lyf. Prayng her said grace and all them that | shall rede this book not to desdaigne the symple and rude | werke. nether to replye agaynst the sayyng of the ma- | ters towchyd in this book / thauwh hyt acorde not vn- | to the translacōn of other whiche haue wreton hit / ffor | dyuerce men haue made dyuerce bookes / whiche in all | poyntes acorde not as Dictes. Dares. and Homerus | ffor dictes & homerus as grekes sayn and wryten fauo- | rably for the grekes / and gyue to them more worship || than to the troians / And Dares wryteth otherwyse | than they doo / And also as for the propre names / hit | is no wonder that they acorde not / ffor sōme oon name | in thyse dayes haue dyuerce equyuocacions after the con|trees that they dwlle in / but alle acorde in conclusion the | generall destruccion of that noble cyte of Troye / And | the deth of so many noble prynces as kynges dukes Er | les barons. knyghtes and comyn peple and the ruyne | irreperable of that Cyte that neuer syn was reedefyed | whiche may be ensample to all men duryng the world | how dredefull and Ieopardous it is to begynne a warre | and what hormes. losses. and deth foloweth. Terfore | thapostle saith all that is wreton is wreton to our doc- | tryne / whyche doctryne for the comyn wele I beseche | god maye be taken in suche place and tyme as shall be | moste nedefull in encrecyng of peas loue and charyte | whyche graunte vs he that suffryd for the same to be | crucyfied on the rood tree / And saye we alle Amen | for charyte..

†

Begin *verso* of 351st leaf.

THE PLAY AND GAME OF THE CHESS.

First Edition. Prologue.

(Adapted from the French of Jean de Vignay.)

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b 23.

Begin *recto* of 2nd leaf, the 1st leaf being blank.

O the right noble / right excellent & vertuous prince | George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyk and of | salisburye / grete chamberlayn of Englond & leutenant | of Irelond oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace | of god kynge of England and of fraũce / your most | humble seruant william Caxton amonge other of your | seruantes sendes vnto yow peas . helthe . Ioye and victo-|rye vpon your Enemyes / Right highe puyssant and | redoubted prynce / For as moche as I haue vnderstand | and knowe / that ye are enclined vnto the comyn wele | of the kynge our said saueryn lord . his nobles lordes | and comyn peple of his noble royame of Englond / and | that ye sawe gladly the Inhabitans of y^e same euformed | in good . vertuous . prouffitable and honeste maners . | Jn whiche your noble persone wyth guydyng of your | hows haboundeth / gyuyng light and ensample vnto all | other / Therfore I haue put me in deuour to translate a li- | tyll book late comen in to myn handes out of frensh in to | englisshe / Jn which I fynde thauctorites . dictees . and | stories of auncient Doctours philosophes poetes and of | other wyse men whiche been recounted & applied vnto | the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles | as of the comyn peple after the game and playe of the | chesse / whiche booke right puyssant and redoubtid lord | I haue made in the name and vnder the shadewe of your | noble protection / not presumyng to correcte or enpoigne | ony thynge ayenst your noblesse / For god be thankyd | your

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PROLOGUE OF JEAN DE VIGNAY TO HIS FRENCH TRANSLATION (A.D. 1360) OF THE "LUDUS SACCORUM" OF J. DE CESSOLIS.

British Museum. Harleian MS. No. 5440.

A Tres noble & exellent prince Jehan de france duc de normendie & auisne filz de philipe par la grace de dieu Roy de france . Frere Jehan de vignay vostre petit Religieux entre les autres de vostre seignoire / paix sante Joie & victoire sur vos ennemis . Treschier & redoubte seign^r / pour ce que Jay entendu et scay que vous veez & ouez volentiers choses proffitables & honestes et qui tendent alinformacion de bonnes meurs ay Je mis vn petit liuret de latin en francois le quel mest venuz a la main nouuellement / ou quel plussieurs auctoritez et dis de docteurs & de philosophes & de poetes & des anciens sages / sont Racontez & sont appliquiez a la moralite des nobles hommes et des gens de peuple selon le gieu des eschez le quel liure Tres puissant et tres redoubte seigneur jay fait ou nom & soubz vmbre de vous pour laquelle chose treschr seign^r Je vous suppli & requier de bonne voulente de cuer que il vo9 daigne plaire a receuoir ce liure en gre aussi bien que de vn greign^r maistre de moy / car la tres bonne voulente que Jay de mielx faire se je pouoie me doit estre reputee pour le fait / Et po^r plus clerement proceder en ceste ouure / Jay ordene que les chappitres du liure soient escrips & mis au commencement afin de veoir plus plainement la matiere de quoy le dit liure p'ole.

Chess-Book, 1st edition.

Begin *verso* of 2nd leaf.

excellent renome shyneth as well in strange regions | as with in the royame of england gloriously vnto your | honour and lande / whiche god multeplye and encrece | But to thentent that other of what estate or degre he or || they stande in . may see in this sayd lityll book / yf they go-|uerned them self as they ought to doo / wherfor my right | dere redoubted lord I requyre & supplye your good grace | not to desdaygne to resseyue this lityll sayd book in gree | and thanke / as well of me your humble and vnknowen | seruant as of a better and gretter man than I am / For | the right good wylle that I haue had to make this lityll | werk in the best wyse I can / ought to be reputed for the | fayte and dede / And for more clerely to procede in this | sayd book I haue ordeyned that the chapitres ben sette in | the begynnynge to thende that ye may see more playnly | the mater wherof the book treteth &c.

In the third Chapter of the third Book, which treats of the office of Notaries, Advocates, Scriveners, &c. the following passage was doubtless added by Caxton himself, as it appears in none of the Latin or French manuscripts of the work. De Vignay's translation reads—

"Il nest au Jour Duy nulle chose qui tant grieue Rome ne ytalie com̃e fait le college Des notaires publiques Car ilz ne sont mie aun accort ensemble."

Caxton thus translates and enlarges this passage—

Recto of 37th leaf, line 27.

For ther is | no thynge at this day that so moche greueth rome and | Italye as doth the college of notaries and aduocates pub | licque / For they ben not of oon a corde / Alas and in | Eugeland what hurte doon the aduocats . men of lawe . | And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y^{e} royame | as well in the spirituell lawe as in the temporall / how | torne they the lawe and statutes at their pleasir / how ete | they the peple / how enpouere they the comynte / I suppose | that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pletars attorneys | and men of the lawe as ben in englond onely / for yf they | were nombrid all that lange to the courtes of the chann- | cery kinges benche . comyn place . cheker . ressayt and helle | And the bagge berars of the same / hit shold amounte to | a grete multitude And how alle thyse lyue & of whome . | yf hit shold be vttrid & told / hit shold not be byleuyd . | For they entende to theyr synguler wele and prouffyt | and not to the comyn /

Caxton then proceeds with his translation of the French, but in the first chapter of the fourth tractate, where the advantages of good government and prosperity are enforced, he again indulges in the following remarks :—

Recto of 63rd leaf, line 9.

Alas | what haboundance was some tymes in the royames . | And what prospite / In whiche was Iustice / And euery | man in his office contente / how stood the cytees that tyme | in worship and renome / how was renomed the

Chess-Book. 1st Edition.

noble | royame of Englond Alle the world dredde hit And | spack worship of hit / how hit now standeth and in | what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit | yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the see / they | knowe that laboure in the royame And sayle on the see | J wote well the fame is grete therof I pray god saue | that noble royame And sende good true and politicque | counceyllours to the gouernours of the same &c /

The following is added by Caxton as a conclusion to the last chapter:—

Verso of leaf 71, line 28.

And therfore my ryght redoubted lord I | pray almighty god to saue the kyng our souerain lord & | to gyue hym grace to yssue as a kynge & tabounde in all | vertues / & to be assisted with all other his lordes in such | wyse y^{t} his noble royame of Englond may prospere & | habounde in vertues / and y^{t} synne may be eschewid iustice | kepte / the royame defended good men rewarded malefac | tours punysshid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that | he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne gloriously || In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce / that verray | peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames / and | that marchandise may haue his cours in suche wise that | euery man eschewe synne / and encrece in vertuous occu- | pacions / Prayngе your good grace to resseyue this lityll | and symple book made vnder the hope and shadowe of | your noble protection by hym that is your most humble | seruant / in gree and thanke And I shall praye almighty | god for your longe lyf & welfare / whichehe preserue | And sende yow thaccomplisshement of your hye noble. | Ioyous and vertuous desirs Amen :/: Fynysshid the | last day of marche the yer of our lord God . a . thousand | foure honderd and lxxiiii ∴:.:.∴

Begin *recto* of leaf 72, the *verso* being blank.

THE PLAY AND GAME OF THE CHESS.

Second Edition. Prologue.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b 1.

Begin *recto* of sig. a ij, the 1st leaf being blank.

t He holy appostle and doctour of the peple saynt | Poule sayth in his epystle. Alle that is wryten | is wryten vnto our doctryne and for our ler- | nyng . Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred | them to wryte and compyle many notable werkes and | historyes to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege | and vnderstondyng of suche as ben ygnoraunt . Of which | the nombre is infenyte / And accordyng to the same saith | Salamon . that the nombre of foles . is infenyte / And | emong alle other good werkys . It is a werke of ryght | special recomendacion to enforme · and to late vnderstonde | wysedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can | not dyscerne wysedom fro folye . Thēne emonge whom | there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame | of fraunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt

Chess-Book, 2nd Edition.

Iohns of | Jherusalem whiche entended the same and hath made a | book of the chesse moralysed . whiche at suche tyme as I | was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam | in to my handes / whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen / | ne semed ful necessarye for to be had in englisshe / And | in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that sōme which | haue not seen it / ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn . J dely- | bered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge / | And whan I so had achyeued the sayd translacion / J | dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym / | Whiche anone were depesshed and solde . wherfore by cause | thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte | vnto euery astate and degree / J haue purposed to | enprynte it / shewyng therin the figures of suche persons || as longen to the playe . Jn whom al astates and degrees | ben comprysed / besechyng al them that this litel werke | shal see / here / or rede to haue me for excused for the rude & | symple makyng and reducyn in to our englisshe / And | where as is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so doyng | they shal deserue meryte and thanke / and I shal pray for | them / that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in | his euerlastyng blisse in heuen / to the whiche he brynge | vs / that wyth his precious blood redemed vs Amen

Begin *verso* of sig. a ij.

Instead of the conclusion to the first edition, Caxton substitutes here—

Recto of sig. *l* 6, line 25, the *verso* being blank.

Thenne late euery man of what | condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde · | take therby ensaumple to amende hym

Explicit per Caxton

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b. 3.

LIFE OF JASON.

PROLOGUE.

Begin *recto* of 2nd leaf, the 1st leaf being blank.

f Or asmoche as late by the comaūdement of the right | hye & noble princesse my right redoubted lady / My | lady Margarete by the grace of god Duchesse of Bour- | goyne Brabant &c̃ . I translated aboke out of frensshe in | to Englissh named Recuyel of the histories of Troye in | whiche is comprehended how Troye was thries destroyed | And also the labours & histories of Saturnus Tytan / | Jubyter Perseus and Hercules / & other moo therin Re | hersed . but as to the historie of Iason / towchyng the con- | queste of the golden flese / myn auctor hath not sett in his | boke .but breuely and the cause is for asmoche as he hadde | made before aboke of the hoole lyf of Iason . whyche he pre- | sented vnto the noble Prynce in his dayes Philippe Duc | of bourgoyne / And also the sayde boke shulde haue ben to | grete . if he had sett the saide historie in his boke . for it con- | teyneth thre bokes beside thistorie of Iason · Theñe for as | moche as this sayd boke is late newe made aparte of alle | thistories of the sayd Iason & the historie of him whiche | that Dares Frigius & Guido de columpnys wrote in the | begynnyng of their bokes / touchyng the conqueste of the | sayd golden flese . by occasion wherof grewe the cause of the | seconde destruccion of the sayd cite of Troye . is not sett in | the sayd boke of Recuyel of thistories of Troye / Therefor | vnder the proteccion & suffraunce of the most hyghe puis- | sant & xp̃en kyng . my most dradde naturel liege Lord | Edward by the grace of god kyng of englond and of | Fraunce and lord of Jrland / I entende to translate the | sayd boke of thistories of Iason . folowyng myn auctor | as nygh as I can or may not chaungyng the sentence . ne || presumyng to adde ne mynusshe ony thing otherwyse than | myne auctor hath made in Frensshe / And in somoche as | the grettest fame & renomme standeth & resteth in the con- | quest of the flese of gold / where of is founded an ordre of | knightes . wherof oure sayd souerayne lord is one & hath | taken the profession therof / howe well som̃e persones affer- | me and saye that the sayd ordre hath taken his orygynal | of the flese of Gedeon . where in I will not dispute . But | well wote I that the noble Duc Philippe firste foundeur | of this sayd ordre / dyd doo maken a chambre in the Cas- | tell of Hesdyn / where in was craftyly and curiously de- | peynted the conqueste of the golden flese by the sayd Ia- | son / in whiche chambre I haue ben and seen the sayde his- | torie so depeynted . & in remēbrañce of medea & of her con- | nyng & science · he had do make in the sayde chambre by subtil | engyn that whan he wolde it shuld seme that it lightend & | then thondre / snowe & rayne· And all within the sayde | chambre as ofte tymes & whan it shuld please him . which | was al made for his singuler pleasir . Theñe for the honour | & worship of our sayd moost redoubted liege lorde whiche | hath taken the sayde ordre / I haue vnder the shadowe of his | noble ꝑteccion enterprised taccomplissh thịs sayd litil boke· | not p̃sumyng to p̃sente it vnto his highnesse . for asmoch | as I doubte not his good grace hath it in frensh / which he | wel vnderstandeth · but not displesing his most noble grace | I entende by his licence & congye & by the supportacōn of our | most redoubted liege lady / most exellent princesse the Que- | ne to presente this sayde boke vnto the most fayr · and my | moost redoubted yong lorde . My lord Prynce of Wales || our tocomyng soũayne lorde . whom I praye god saue and | encrease in vertue & bryng him vnto asmoche

Life of Jason.

Begin *verso* of 2nd leaf.

See Note below.*

Begin *recto* of 3rd leaf.

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* "The Duke of Brabant intends to add to his Palace a large *salon*, in which the history of the Order of the Golden Fleece is to be represented in a Series of Frescoes. The principal picture is the Installation of the Order."—*Athenæum, March*, 1858, page 408.

Life of Jason. worship and | goode Renōme as euer had ony of his noble progenytours | To thentente / he may begynne to lerne rede Englissh . not | for ony beaute or good Endyting of our englissh tonge | that is therin . but for the nouelte of the histories whiche | as I suppose hath not be had bifore the translacion herof | Moost humblie besekyng my sayd most drad souerayn & | naturel liege lorde the kyng and also the Quene to ꝑdon | me so presumyng . And my sayd tocomyng souerayne | lord / My lord the Prynce to receyue it in gree & thanke | of me his humble subgiett & seruaūte . and to pardone me | of this my simple and Rude translacion / and all other | that luste to rede or here it / to correcte where as they shalle | finde defaulte

Here endeth the prologue of the translatour

EPILOGUE.

Recto of 149th leaf, line 10. a Nd howe be it that myn auctor writeth that he hath | foūde nomore of thistorie of Iason / yet haue I foūden | & red in the boke that bochace made of the genalagie of god- | des in his . xiij . boke / that whan so was that Iason & medea | were reconciled agayn to geder after that shee fled from ege- | on that he went with her into colchos again / & whan he was | comen theder . he foūde the olde king oetes fader vnto medea | bañissed & exiled out of his royame / whom he restored & sette | him by his valiañce & puissaūte in his kingdom agayn / & | after went into asie / where he had victorie in many batailes | And made so many conquestes with grete magnificence | in somoche that he was honoured & worshipped for a god / & | were made & edefied diūce temples in his name which af- | ter were destroied by the cōmandment of king Alexander | of macedone / who ꝑauenture had enuye of his glorie & also | he saith that thoant & euneꝰ where his sones whom he begate | on ysiphile as he went to colchos where as Stacius saith | Whiche were borñ at ones . And for asmoch as it was | not the custome in lenos to fede & norisshe the men children | Begin *verso* of 149th leaf. they were sent into an other coñtrey for to be nourysshed || wherfore the moder was put out of her Royaume . & taken | with pirates & theues . & after sold vnto Lygurgis king | of nemee . and after whan the sayde sones waxe men they | went with king Adrastꝰ vnto the bataile of Thebes / & as | they went in the wode of nemee they herde of the sayd king | Adrastꝰ reherse her burth & the caas of her moder / by which | rehersayll they knew that she was their moder / & in kyng | Lygurgis court they fonde her / whenne Opheltes his sone | was foūde dede in the gardyn / what time the lady that hadde | charge of him went with the grekes to shew him the water | as in the siege of thebes it is more plainly shewd / but what | cam afterward of these two sones it is incertayn this saith | bochace in the . xiij . boke of the geneolagye of goddes . And | he saith he had an other sone whos name was philemelus / | and more haue I not red of the noble Iason / but this haue | I foũden more theñ myn auctor reherceth in his boke / & ther | fore I make here an ende of this storie of Iason . whom di- | ũce meñ blame because that he left & repudied Medea / but | in this present boke ye may see the euydent causes / why he | so dyd . Prayng my said lorde Prince taccepte & take yt | in gree of me his indigne seruiteur . whom I beseche god | almighty to saue & encrece in vertu now in his tendre iongth | that he may come vnto his parfait eage to his honour and | worship that his Renom̃e maye perpetuelly be remembrid | among the most worthy · And after this present life eu̇- | lastinglife in heuen who grant him &vs that boughte vs | with his bloode blessyd Ihuș Amen

Life of Jason.

DICTES AND SAYINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

First Edition. Epilogue.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 21. d.

Begin *recto* of 74th leaf, reckoning a blank for the first leaf.

h Ere endeth the book named the dictes or sayengis | of the philosophhres enprynted / by me william | Caxton at westmestre the yere of our lord · M · | CCCC · Lxxvij · Whiche book is late translated out of | Frenshe into englyssh . by the Noble and puissant lord | Lord Antone Erle of Ryuyers lord of Scales & of the | Jle of wyght / Defendour and directour of the siege apos- | tolique / for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of | Englond and Gouernour of my lord Prynce of wales | And It is so that at suche tyme as he had accomplysshid | this sayd werke / it liked him to sende it to me in certayn | quayers to oursee / whiche forthwith I sawe & fonde therin | many grete . notable . and wyse sayengis of the philosophres | Acordyng vnto the bookes made in frenshe whiche I had | ofte afore redd / But certaynly I had seen none in englissh | til that tyme / And so afterward I cam vnto my sayd | lord & told him how I had red & seen his book / And | that he had don a meritory dede in the labour of the transla- | cion therof in to our englissh tunge / wherin he had deseruid | a singuler lawde & thank &c̃ / Thenne my sayd lord desired | me to ouersee it and where as I sholde fynd faute to cor- | recte it / wherein I answerd vnto his lordship / that I coude | not amende it / But if I sholde so presume I might apaire | it / For it was right wel & connyguly made & trans lated | into right good and fayr englissh / Notwithstondyng he | willed me to ouersee it & shewid me dyuerce thinges whi | che as him semed myght be left out as diuerce lettres mis | siues sent from Alisander to dari⁹ and aristotle & eche to | other . whiche lettres were lityl appertinent vnto to dictes || and

Begin *verso* of 74th leaf.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

sayenges aforsayd for as moche as they specifye of | other maters / And also desired me that don to put the sayd | booke in enprinte. And thus obeying hys request and co|maundement I haue put me in deuoyr to ouersee this hys | sayd book and beholden as nyghe as I coude howe It accor|deth wyth thorigynal beyng in Frensh. And I fynde | nothyng dyscordaunt therin. Sauf onely in the dyctes | and sayengys of Socrates. Wherin I fynde that my saide | lord hath left out certayn and dyuerce conclusions tow-|chyng women. Wherof I meruaylle that my sayd lord | hath not wreton them · ne what hath meuyd hym so to do | Ne what cause he hadde at that tyme · But I suppose that | som fayr lady hath desired hym to leue it out of his booke | Or ellys he was amerous on somme noble lady. for whos | loue he wold not sette yt in hys

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British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b. 2.

Begin *recto* of 74th leaf, reckoning a blank for the 1st leaf.

DICTES AND SAYINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

SECOND EDITION. EPILOGUE.

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Ere endeth the book named the dictes or sayengis | of the philosophres enprynted. by me william | Caxton at westmestre the yere of our lord. M. | CCCC. Lxxvij. Whiche book is late translated out of | Frenshe into englyssh. by the Noble and puissant lord | Lord Antone Erle of Ryuyers lord of Scales & of the | Jle of wyght / Defendour and directour of the siege apos- | tolique / for our holy Fader the. Pope in this Royame of | Englond and Gouernour of my lord Prince of wales | And It is so that at suche tyme as he had accomplysshid | this sayd werke / it liked him to sende it to me in certayn | quayers to ouer see / whiche forthwith I sawe and fonde therin | many grete. notable. & wyse sayengis of the philosophres | Acordyng vnto the bookes made in frēshe whiche I had | ofte afore redd But certaynly I had seen none in englissh | til that tyme / And so afterward I cam vnto my sayd | lord & tolde him how I had red & seen his book And that | he had don a meritory dede in the labour of the translacion | therof in to our englissh tunge / wherin he had deseruid a | singuler lawde & thank &c Thenne my said lord desired | me to ouersee it and where as I shold fynd faute to correcte | it wherein I answerd vnto his lordship / that I coude not | amende it But yf I sholde so presume I myght apaire it | For it was right wel & connygly made and translated | into right good and fayr englissh / Not withstondyng he willed me to ouersee it & shewid me dyuerce thinges whi|che as him semed myght be left out as diuerce lettres mis|siues sent from Alisander to darius & aristotle and eche to | other. which lettres were lityll appertinent vnto the dyctes || and sayenges aforsayd for as moche as they specifye of | other maters / And also desired me that don to put the said | booke in enprinte. And thus obeyng hys request and co | maundement I haue put me in deuoyr to ouersee this his | sayd book and beholden as nygh as I coude howe It accor | deth wyth thorigynal beyng in frensh And I finde no- | thyng discordaunt therin. Sauf onely in the dyctes and | sayengys of Socrates / Wherin I fynde that my saide lord | hath left out certayn and dyuerce conclusions towchyng | wymen / Wherof I meruaille that my sayd lord hath not | wreton them. ne what hath meuyd him so to do Ne what | cause he hadde at that tyme. But I suppose that some fayre | lady hath desired him to leue it out of his booke / Or ellys | he was amerous on somme noble lady. for whoos loue he | wold not sette it in his book / or ellis for the very affeccion | loue and good wylle that he hath vnto alle ladyes and | Gentylwomen. he thought that Socrates spared the sothe | And wrote of wymen more than trouthe. whiche I can|not thinke that so trewe a man & so noble a Phylosophre | as Socrates was sholde write other wyse than trouth For | If he had made fawte in wryting of wymen. He ought | not ne sholde not be beleuyd in his other dictes and say-|inges. But I apperceyue that my sayd lord knoweth | veryly that suche defautes ben not had ne founden in the | wymen born and dwellyng in these partyes ne Regyons | of the world. Socrates was a Greke boren in a ferre | Contre from hens. Whyche contre ys alle of othere | condycions than thys is . And men and | wymen of other nature than they ben heere in thys contre || For I wote wel. of what someuer con-

Begin *verso* of 74th leaf.

Begin *recto* of 75th leaf.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

book . or ellys for the ve-|ry affeccyon . loue and good wylle that he hath vnto alle | ladyes and Gentylwomen . he thought that Socrates | spared the sothe . And wrote of women more than trouthe . | whyche I can not thinke that so trewe aman & so noble a | Phylosophre as Socrates was shold wryte other wyse | than trouthe · For If he had made fawte in wryting of | women . He ought not ne shold not be beleuyd in hys o-|ther dyctes and sayinges . But I apperceyue that my | sayd lord knoweth veryly that suche defautes ben not | had ne founden in the women born and dwellyng in the-|se partyes ne Regyons of the world · Socrates was a | Greke boren in a ferre Contre from hens . Whyche con-|tre is alle of othre condycions than thys is . And men | & women of other nature than they ben here in this contre || For I wote wel .

Begin *recto* of 75th leaf.

DICTES AND SAYINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

THIRD EDITION. EPILOGUE.

Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth. MS. 1092 *a*.

Begin *recto* of sig. J iij.

LEre endeth the book named the dictes or sayngis of | the philosophers enprynted / by me Willm Caxton at | westmestre the yere of our lord . M . cccc . Lxxvij / Whiche bo | ok is late translated out of / frenshe into englyssh . by y^e noble | & puissant lord Antoine Erle of Ryuyers lord of Scales & | of the / Isle of wyght . Defendour and directour of the siege | Apstolique . for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame | of englond and gouernour of my lord prince of wales . and | It is so that at suche tyme as he had accomplisshid this said | werke it liked hym to sende it to me in certayn quayers to | oüsee / whiche forthwyth I sawe & fonde theryn many grete | notable . and wyse sayengys of / the philozophres . Accor- | dyng vnto the bookes made in frensh whiche I had ofte a | fore red / But certaynly I had seen none in englyssh til that | tyme And so afterward I cam vnto my sayd lord / & told | hym how I had red and seen his book / And that he had don | a meritory dede in the labour of the translacion therof in to | our englyssh tunge wheryn he had deseruid a singuler lawde | & thauk / &c . Thenne my sayd lord desired me to ouersee it & | where as I shold fynde faulte to correcte wheryn I answerd | vnto his lordship that I coude not amende It But yf I shol | de so presume I myght apaire it For it was ryght wel & con | nyngly made & translated into right good & fayr englyssh / | Notwythstondyng he willed me to ouersee it & shewid me | diuerce thinges whiche as hym semed myght be left out as | diuerce lerttres missyues sent from / Alisander to darius & / | Aristotle & eche to other . whiche lettres were litil appertinēt | vnto to dictes and sayenges aforsaid for as moche as they | specifie of other maters . and also desired me that don to put | the sayd booke in enprinte / And thus obeyng his request & | comaundement I haue put me in deuoir to ouersee this his || sayd book and behelden as nyghe as I coude howe It accor- | deth wyth thorigynal beyng in frensh . ¶ And I fynde no- | thing discordaunt therin / Sauf onely in the dictes and sa- | yengys of Socrates Wherin I fynde y^t my saide lord haith | left out certain and diuerse conclusions towchyng women | wherof I meruaille that my sayd lord hath not wreton them | ne what hath meuyth hym so to do / Ne what cause he had- | de at that tyme . But I suppose that som fayr lady hath desi | reth hym to leue it out of his booke / Or ellys he was ame- | rous on somme noble lady / for whos loue he wold not sette | yt in his book . or ellis for the very affection loue and good | wylle that he hath vnto alle ladyes & . Gentilwomen . he tho | ught that Socrates spared the sothe. And wrote of wo- | men more than trouthe / whiche I can not thinke that so tre | we aman and so noble a Philozophre as Socrates was | shold wryte other wyse than trouthe / For If he had made fa | wte in wryeing of women . he ought not ne shold not be be- | leuyd in his other dictes and saynges. But I opperceyue | that my sayd lord knoweth veryly that suche defautes ben | not had ne founden in the women born & dwellyng in these | parties ne Regions of the world / Socrates was a Greke | boren in a ferre contre from hens . Whiche contre is alle of | other condicions than this is / Aud men and women of | other nature than they ben here in this contre. For I wote | wel of what

Begin *verso* of sig. J iij.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

of what someuer condicion women ben in | Grece . the women of this contre ben right good / wyse / play | sant / humble / discrete / sobre / chast / obedient to their husbon- | dis / trewe / secrete / stedfast / euer besy / & neuer ydle / Attempe|rat in speking / and vertuous in alle their werkis . or atte | leste sholde be soo / For whiche causes so euydent my sayd lord | as I suppose thoughte it was not of necessite to sette in his | book the saiengis of his Auctor socrates touchyng women | But for as moche as I had comādemēt of my sayd lord | to correcte and amende where as I sholde fynde fawte / and | other fynde I none sauf that he hath left out these dictes & | saynges of the women of Grece / Therfore in accomplisshīg | his comandement for as moche as I am not in certayn whe|der it was in my lordis copye or not ·or ellis perauenture | that the wynde had blowe ouer the leef / at the tyme of trās|lacion of his booke / I purpose to wryte tho same saynges | of that Greke Socrates / whiche wrote of tho women of | grece and nothyng of them of this Royame / whom I sup|pose he neuer knewe / For if he had I dar plainly saye that | he wold haue reserued them inespeciall in his sayd dictes | Alway not presumyng to putt & sette them in my sayd lor|des book / but inthende aparte in the rehersayll of the

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Dictes and Sayings. 2nd edition.

dicion women ben in | Grece . the women of this contre ben right good / wyse / play- | sant / humble / discrete / sobre / chast / obedyent to their husbon | dis / trewe / secrete / stedfast / euer besy / & neuer ydle / Attempe- | rat in speking and vertuous in alle their werkis · or atte | leste sholde be so / For which causes so euydent my sayd lord | as I suppose thoughte it was not of necessite to sette in his | book the saiengis of his Auctor socrates touchyng women | But for as moche as I had comādement of my said lord | to correcte and amende where as I sholde fynde fawte / and | other fynde I none sauf that he hath lefte out these dictes & | saynges of the women of Grece / Therfore in accomplishing | his comādement for as moche as I am not in certayn whe | der it was in my lordis copye or not . or ellis perauenture | that the wynde had blowe ouer the leef / at the tyme of trans | lacion of his booke / I purpose to wryte tho same saynges | of that Greke Socrates / whiche wrote of tho women of | grece and nothyng of them of thys Royame / whom I sup | pose he neuer knewe / For yf he had I dar plainly saye that | he wolde haue reserued them inespeciall in his sayd dictes | Alway not presumyng to put & sette them in my sayd lor- | des book / but inthende aparte in the rehersayll of the werkis | humbly requiryng all them that shall rede this lytyll reher | sayll that yf they fynde ony faulte tarette it to Socrates | and not to me whiche wryteth as here after foloweth .

s

Ocrates sayde That women ben thapparaylles to | cacche men / but they take none but them that wil | be pouer / or ellis them that knowe hem not And | he sayd that ther is none so grete empeshement vnto aman || as ignoraunce . and women And he sawe a woman that | bare fyre / of whom he saide that the hotter bare the colder And he sawe a woman seke . of whom he saide that the | euyll resteth and dwellyth with the euill And he sawe | a woman brought to the Iustyce . and many other wymen | folowed her wepyng . of whom he sayde . the euyll ben sory & | angry by cause the euyll shal perisshe . And he sawe a Iong | mayde that lerned to write / of whom he saide . that me mul- | tiplied euyll upon euyll And sayd that the Ignoraun- | ce of a man is knowen in thre thynges . That is to wete | Whan he hath no thought to vse reason Whan he can not | refrayne his couetises / And whan he is gouerned by | the conceill of wymen in that he knoweth that they knowe | not . And he saide vnto his discyples Wylle ye that I | enseygne and teche you / howe ye shal mowe escape from | alle euille And they ansuerd /

Begin *verso* of 75th leaf.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

werkis | humbly requiryng al them that shal rede this lytyl reher|sayll that yf they fynde ony faulte tarette it to Socrates | and not to me whiche wryteth as here after foloweth |

s Ocrates sayde That women ben thapparaylles to | cacche men / but they take none but them that wil | be poure / or els them that knowe hem not And | he sayde that ther isnone so grete empeshement vnto aman || as Ignoraunce / and women And he sawe a woman | that bare fyre / of whom he saide that the hotter bare the colder | And he sawe a woman seke . of whom he sayd that the | euyl restyth and dwellyth with the euyl And he sa- | we a woman brought to the Iustyce . and many other wo | men folowed her weping / of whome he sayd . the euyll ben | sory and angry bicause the euyll shal perisshe And he | sawe a Iong mayde that lerned to wryte / of whom he say- | de that me multiplied euyl vpon euyll And he sayd | that the Ignoraunce of a man is knowen in thre thinges | That is to wete / Whan he hath no thought to vse reason | Whan he can not refrayne hys couetises / And whan he | is gouerned by the conceyll of women in that he knoweth | that they knowe not And he sayd vnto hys dyscyples | Wylle ye that I enseygne and teche you / howe ye shal mo | we escape from alle euyll / And

Begin *verso* of 75th leaf.

Dictes and Sayings. 3rd edition.

someuer condicion women ben in Grece the | women of this contre ben right good . wyse playsant / hum- | ble. discrete / sobre . chast obedyent to their husbondis / trewe : | secrete stedfast euer besy / and neuer ydle . Attemperat in spe- | kyng and vertuous in alle their werkis . or atte leste sholde | be soo . For whiche causes so euident my sayd lord as I sup- | pose thoughte it was not of necessite to sette in his book || the sayengis of his / Auctor socrates touching women. | But for as moche as I had cōmandemēt of my sayd lord to | correcte & amēde where as I sholde fynde fawte & other fynde | I none sauf that he hath left out these dictes & saynges of y^{e} | women of Grece . therfore in accomplissing his comādement | for as moche as I am not in certayn wheder It was in my | lordis copye or not . or ellys perauenture that the wynde had | blowe ouer the leef. At tyme of translacion of his booke . | I purpose to wryte tho same saynges of that . Greke . | Socrates / whiche wrote of tho women of grece & nothing | of them of this Royame / whom I suppose he neuer knewe | For yf he had I dar pleynly saye that he wold haue reserued | them in especiall in his sayd dictes Alway not presumyng | to put & sette them in my sayd lordes book . bue intende a- | parte in the rehersayll of the werkis humbly requiryng all | them that shal rede this lityl rehersayll that yf they fynde | ony faulte tarette it to . Socrates & not to me whiche wry- | ¶ teth as here after foloweth . |

Begin *recto* of sig. J 4.

S Ocrates sayde that women ben thapparaylles to ca | che men . but they take none but them that wil be po- | ure / or els them that knowe hem not / and he saide that ther | is none so grete empeshemēt vnto aman as Ignoraūce / and | women . And he sawe a woman that bare fyre of whom he | saide that the hotter bare the colder And he sawe a woman se | ke . of whom he sayd that the euyl restith & dwellith with y^{e} | euyll / And he sawe a woman brought to the Iustice / & ma- | ny of women folowed her weping / of whome he sayd y^{t} euill | ben sory and angry bycause the euyll shal perisshe / And he | sawe a Iong mayde that lerned to writte / of whom he sayde | that me multipliet euyll vpon euill ¶ And he sayd that | the Ignoraunce of a man is knowen in thre thinges || That is to wete Whan he hath no thought to vse reason | Whan he can nor refrayne his couetises / And whan he is | gouerned by the coūseyl of women in that he knoweth that | they knowe not . And he sayd vnto his disciples / wylle ye | that I ensigne and teche you/

Begin *verso* of sig. J 4.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

they ansuerd / ye / And | thenne he sayde to them / For what someuer thing that it | be . kepe you and be wel waar that ye obeye not to women | Who ansuerd to hym agayn . And what sayest thou by | our good moders & of our susters / He sayde to hem / Suffi | se you / with that I haue sayd to you . For alle ben sembla | ble in malice And he sayde / who someuer wyll acquere | and gete scyence / late hym neuer put hym in the gouernaū | ce of a woman And he sawe a woman that made her | fresshe and gaye . to whom he sayd / Thou

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Dictes and Sayings. 2nd edition.

ye / And thenne he saide | to them For what someuer thyng that it be . kepe you | and be wele ware that ye obeye not to wymen Who ansuerd | to him agayn And what sayist thou by our good | moders and of our susters . He saide to hem . Suffise you . | with that I haue sayde to you For alle ben semblable | in malyce . And he saide . who someuer wyll acquere and | gete science . late him neuer put him in the gouernaunce of a woman And he sawe a woman that made her fresshe | and gaye . to whom he sayde Thou resemblest the fyre For | the more wode is leyde to the fyre the more wole it brenne | And the gretter is the hete And on a tyme one axid | him / what him semed of wymen He ansuerd That the | wy men resemble vnto a Tre called Edelfla Whiche ys || the fayrest tre to be holde and see that may be Bnt within | it is ful of venym And they saide to him and demanded wherfore he blamed so wymen .and that he him self had | not comen into this worlde ne none other men also with | oute hem / He ansuerd . The woman is like vnto a Tre | named Chassoygnet . on whiche tre ther ben many thinges | sharpe and pryckyng . whiche hurte and pryck them that approche vnto hyt / And yet neuerthelesse that same tre | bringeth forth goode dates and swete . And they deman | ded hym . why he fled from the wymen . And he ansuerde | For as moche as I see them flee and eschewe the goode | and comonly do euill And a woman sayde to him . wylt | thou haue ony other woman than me And he ansuerd to | her Arte not thou ashamed toffre thy self to him . that de- | mandeth nor desireth the not .

Begin *recto* of 76th leaf.

1 O these ben the dictes & sayengis of the philosoph|re Socrates whiche he wrote in his book And | certaynly he wrote no worse than afore is rehersed | And for asmoche as it is acordaūt . that his dyctes and | sayengis shold be had as wel as others therfore I haue set | te it in thende of this booke And also somme psones pera | uenture that haue red thys booke in frensshe wold haue | arette a grette defaulte in me that I had not do my deuoir | in visiting and ouerseyng of my lordes book acording to his | desire . And somme other also happely myght haue supposed | that Socrates had wreton moche more ylle of women than | here a fore is specified / wherfore in satisfieng of all parties | & also for excuse of the saide socrates I have sette these sayde || dyctes & sayengis a aparte in thende of this book / to thentent | that yf my sayd lord or ony other persone what someuer he | or she be that shal rede or here it / that If they be not well ple- | syd with alle that they wyth a penne race it out or ellys | rente the leef oute of the booke / Humbly requyryng and | besechyng my sayd lord to take no displaysir on me so pre | sumyng but to perdone where as he shal fynde faulte / and | that it plese hym to take the labour of thenpryntyng in gre | & thanke / whiche gladly haue don my dyligence in thaccom- | plisshyng of his desire and comandement / In whiche I | am bounden so to do for the good reward that I haue ressey | uyd of hys sayd lordship / Whom I beseche Almyghty | god tencrece and to contynue in his vertuous disposicion | in thys world . And after thys lyf to lyue euerlastyngly | in heuen . Amen .

Begin *verso* of 76th leaf.

Et sic est finis .

Thus endeth thys book of the dictes and notable wyse say- | enges of the phylosophers late translated and drawen | out of frenshe into our englisshe tonge by my forseide lord | Therle of Ryuers and lord Skales . and by hys coman- | dement sette in forme and emprynted in thys manere as | ye maye here in thys booke see Whiche was fynisshed the | xviij . day of the moneth of Nouembre . and the seuenteth | yere of the regne of kyng Edward the. fourth.

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

Begin *recto* of 76th leaf.

resemblest the | fyre/ For the more wode is leyd to the fyre the more wole | it brenne / And the gretter is the hete And on a tyme | one axyd hym / what hym semed of women · He ansuerd | That the women resemble vnto a Tre called Edelfla || Whyche ys the fayrest tre to beholde and see that may be | But wythin it ys ful of venym And they sayd to | hym and demanded wherfore he blamed so women / and | that he hym self had not comen into thys world ne none | other men also wythoute hem . He ansuerd · The woman | ys like vnto a Tre named Chassoygnet . on whyche tre | ther ben many thynges sharpe and pryckyng · whiche hur | te and prycke them that approche vnto hyt . And yet ne | uerthelesse that same tre bringeth forth good dates and | swete · And they demanded hym / why he fled from the | women . And he ansuerd . For asmoche as I see

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Dictes and Sayings. 3rd edition.

how ye shal mowe escape from | al euyll / And they answerd ye . and thenne he sayd to them | For what someuer thyng that it be / kepe you & be wel war | that ye obeye not to women / who answerd to hym agayn. & | what sayest thou by our good moders & of our susters he | sayde to hem / Suffyse you wyth that I haue said to you . for | alle ben semblable in malyce . And he said who someuer wil | acquere & gete science late hym neuer put hym in the go- | uernaũce of a woman / And he sawe a woman that made | her fresshe and gaye to whom he sayde / Thou resemblest the | fyre . For the more wode is leyd to the fyre the more wole | it brenne / And the gretter is the hete / ¶ And on a time | one axid hym . what hym semed of women . He answerd / | That the women resemble vntȯ a tree called Edelfla whi- | che is the fayrest tree to beholde and see that may be . But | wythin it is full of venym / ¶ And they sayde to hym | and demaũded wherfore he blamed so women . And that he | hym self had not comen into this world ne none other | men also wythoute hem . He answerd . the woman ys lyke | vnto a tree named Chassoygne / on whiche tree ther ben ma | ny thynges sharpe and pryckyng . whiche hurte and pryc- | ke them that approche vnto hit / ¶ And yet neuerthelesse | that same tree bryngeth forth goo dates and swete / | ¶ And they demanded hym why he fled from the women | ¶ And he answerd / for as moche as I see them flee and es | chewe the good . and comenly do euyll / ¶ And a wo- | man sayde to hym / Wylt thou haue ony other woman || than me / ¶ And he ansuerd to her Arte not thou ashamed | toffre thy self to hym . that demandeth ner desireth the not / |

Begin *recto* of sig. J 5; the *verso* and J 6 being blank.

LO these ben the dictes & sayengis of the philosophre | Socrates whiche he wrote in his book And certayn- | ly he wrote no worse than a fore is rehersed . And for asmo | che as it is acordaunt . that his dictes and sayengis shold be | had as wel as others therfore I haue sette it in thende of | this booke / And also somme persones per auenture that ha | ue red this booke in frensshe wold haue arette a grette defau | te in me that I had not do my deuoir in vysiting and ouerse | yng of my lordes book acording to his desir / And somme | other also happely might haue supposed . that socrates had | wreton moche more euyl of women than here a fore is spe- | cified wherfore in satisfyeng of all parties & also for excuse | of the sayde socrates I haue sette these saide dictes and say- | engis a parte in thende of this book / to thentent that yf my | sayd lord or ony other persone what someuer he or she be that | shal rede or here it . that yf they be not wel plesyd wyth all y^{t} | they with a penne race it out or ellys rente the leef out of | the booke . Humbly requyryng and beseching my sayd lord | to take no displaysir on me so presumyng but to pardone | where as he shal fynde faulte . and that it plese hym to take y^{e} | labour of thenprynting in gre and thanke . whiche gladly I | haue don my diligēce in thaccomplissynge of his desire and | commandement / In whiche I am bounden so to do for the go | od reward that I haue resseyued of his said lordship . | Whom I bescehe Almyghty god tencrece and to continue | in his vertuous disposicion in this world . And after this | lyf to lyue euer lastyngly in heuen . Amen . | ¶ Caxton me fieri fecit . |

Dictes and Sayings. 1st edition.

them | flee and eschewe the good · and comenly do euyll And | a woman sayde to hym · wylt thou haue ony other woman | than me And he ansuerde to her Arte not thou ashamed | toffre thy self to hym . that demandeth ner desireth the not |

O these ben the dictes & sayengis of the phylosoph | re Socrates whiche
1 he wrote in his book , And | certaynly he wrote no worse than afore is
rehersed | And for asmoche as it is acordaūt . that his dyctes and | sayengis shold be had as wel as others therfore I haue set | te it in thende of this booke , And also somme ꝑsones per | auenture that haue red this booke in frensshe wold haue | arette a grette defaulte in me that I had not do my deuoir | in visiting & ouerseeyng of my lordes book acording to his | desir , And somme other also happely might haue supposed | that Socrates had wreton moche more ylle of women than | here afore is specified , wherfore in satisfyeng of all parties | & also for excuse of the saide socrates I haue sette these saide || dyctes & sayengis a parte in thende of this book , to thentēt | that yf my sayd lord or ony other persone what someuer he | or she be that shal rede or here it , that If they be not wel | plesyd wyth all that they wyth a penne race it out or el- | lys rente the leef out of the booke , Humbly requyryng and | besechyng my sayd lord to take no displaysir on me so pre | sumyng but to pardone where as he shal fynde faulte , and | that it plese hym to take the labour of thenpryntyng in gre | & thanke , whiche gladly haue don my dyligence in thaccom- | plysshyng of his desire and commandement , Jn why | che I am̃ bounden so to do for the good reward that I ha- | ue resseyuyd of his sayd lordship , Whom I beseche Al- | myghty god tencrece and to contynue in his vertuous dis | posicion in this world , And after thys lyf to lyue euer- | lastyngly in heuen Amen

Begin *verso* of 76th leaf.

Et sic est finis .·.·

The Miller Library, Britwell House, Bucks.

EPILOGUE TO MORAL PROVERBS.

The first of these stanzas may have been the composition of Earl Rivers; but it is not improbable that Caxton wrote both.

Verso of 4th leaf.

Of these sayynges Cristyne was aucteuresse
Whiche in makyng hadde suche Intelligence
That therof she was mireur & maistresse
Hire werkes testifie thexperience
Jn frenssh languaige was writeñ this sentence
And thus Englished dooth hit rehers
Antoin wideuylle therl Ryuers

Moral Proverbs.

Go thou litil quayer / and recōmaund me
Vnto the good grace / of my special lorde
Therle Ryueris . for I haue enprinted the
At his cōmandement . folowyng eury worde
His copye / as his secretaire can recorde
At westmestre . of feuerer the . xx . daye
And of kyng Edward / the . xvij . yere vraye

Enprinted by Caxton
In feuerer the colde season

CORDYALE.

Epilogue.

British Museum Press Mark. C. 11. c. 2.

Verso of 76th leaf, line 2.

t His book is thus translated out of frenshe into | our maternal tongue by the noble and vertuouse | lord **Anthoine** Erle Ryuiers / Lord Scales & | of the Isle of wight . Defenseur and directeur of the cau | ses apostolique for our holy fader the Pope in this Roya | me of Englonde . Vncle & gouernour to my lorde prince of | wales . which book was deliuered.to me **william Caxton** | by my saide noble lorde Ryuiers on the day of purificacion | of our blissid lady / fallyng the tewsday the secunde day | of the moneth of feuerer . Jn the yeer of our lord . M. | CCCC lxxviij for to be enprinted / and so multiplied | to goo abrood emonge the peple / that therby more surely | myght be remembred the four last thingis vndoubtably co | myng . And it is to be noted that sythen the tyme of | the grete tribulacion and aduersite of my saide lord / he | hath been ful vertuously occupied / as in goyng of pilgre | magis to **Seint James in Galice** . to **Rome** . to | **Seint Bartylmew** . to **Seint Andrew** · to **Seint** | **Mathew** . in the **Royalme of Naples** . and to **Seint** | **Nicholas de Bar in Puyle** . and other diuerse holy pla | ces . Also hath procured and goten of our holy fader the | Pope a greet and a large Indulgence and grace vnto the | chapel of our lady of the piewe by **seint stephens at west** | **mestre** for the relief & helpe of cristen sowles passed out of | this transitorie world . whiche grace is of like vertue to | thindulgence of **Scala celi** · And not withstonding the | greet labours & charges y^t he hath had in the seruice of the || kyng & of my said lord prince / as wel in wales in Eng | londe . which hath be to him no litle thought & besines bothe | in spirite and in body / as the fruit therof experimently she | weth . Yet ouer that

Begin *recto* of 77th leaf.

Cordyale.

Begin *verso* of 77th leaf.

tenriche his vertuous disposicion / he | hath put him in deuoyr at all tymes wheñ he might haue a | leyser . whiche was but startemele to translate diuerse boo|kes out of frensh into english . Emong other passid | thurgh myñ honde the booke of the wise sayinges or dictes | of philosophers . & the wise and holsom̃ puerbis of xpristine | of pyse set in metre . Ouer that hath made diuerse balades | ayenst the seuen dedely synnes . Furthermore it semeth | that he conceiueth wel the mutabilite and the vnstablenes | of this present lyf . aud that he desireth with a greet zele | and spirituell loue our goostly helpe and perpetuel salua | cion . And that we shal abhorre and vtterely forsake | thabhominable and dampnable synnes . whiche comunely | be vsed now a dayes / as Pride , periurye , terrible swering | thefte , murdre / and many other . Wherfore he took vpon | hym the translating of this present werke named **Cordy | ale** / trusting that bothe the reders and the herers therof | sholde knowe them self herafter the better / and amende | thair lyuyng or they departe and lose this tyme of grace | to the recouure of their saluacion . Whiche Translating | in my Iugement is a noble & a meritorious dede . Wherfor | he is worthy to be greetly com̃ended . and also singulerly | remembred with our goode prayers . For certaynely as | well the reders as the herers well conceyuyng in their | hertes the forsayd foure last thinges may therby greetly be | prouoqued and called from sinne to the greet & plentiuouse || mercy of our blissid saueour / whiche mercy is aboue all | his werkis . And noman beyng contrite and confessed | nedeth to fere thobteyning therof / as in the preface of my | saide lordes booke made by hym more playnly it appereth | Thēne in obeying and folowyng my said lordes coman- | dement . In whiche I am bounden so to do . for the manifol | de benefetes and large rewardes of hym had and receyued | of me vndeseruid . J haue put me in deuoyr taccomplisshe | his saide desire and comaūdement / whom I beseche almigh | ty god to kepe and mayntene in his vertuous and lauda | ble actes and werkis . And sende hym thaccomplisshement | of his noble and ioyous desirs and playsirs in this worlde | And after this short daungerous and transitory lyf euer | lasting permanence in heuen Amen . Whiche werke pre- | sent I begañ the morñ after the saide Purificacionof our | blissid Lady . Whiche was the the daye of **Seint Blase** | Bisshop and Martir . And fiinsshed on the euen of than | nunciacion of our said bilissid Lady fallyng on the wed | nesday the xxiiij daye of **Marche** . Jn the xix yeer of | **Kyng Edwarde** the fourthe

BOETHIUS DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ.

EPILOGUE.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. c. 9.

Recto of 93rd leaf, reckoning a blank for the first, line 7,

t Hus endeth this boke whiche is named the boke of | Consolacion of philosophie · whiche that boecius ma- | de for his comforte and consolacion he beyng in exile for the | comyñ and publick wele hauying grete heuynes & though- | tes and in maner of despayr / Rehercing in the sayde boke | howe Philosophie appiered to him shewyng the mutabilite | of this transitorie lyfe / and also enformyng howe fortu- | ne and happe shold bee vnderstonden / with the predestyna- | cion and prescience of God as moche as maye and ys | possible to bee knowen naturelly / as a fore ys sayd in this | sayd boke / Whiche Boecius was an excellente auctour | of dyuerce bookes craftely and curiously maad in prose | and metre / And also had translated dyuerce bookes | oute of Greke into latyñ / and had ben senatour of that | noble & famous cite Rome . And also his two sones Se | natours for their prudence & wisedom . And for as moche | as he withstode to his power the tyrañye of theodorik theñe | Emperour / & wold haue defended the sayde cite & Senate | from his wicked hondes / wherupon he was conuict & putte | in prison / in whiche prisoñ he made this forsaide boke of cōso | lacion for his singuler cōfort . and for asmoche as the stile | of it / is harde & difficile to be vnderstonde of simple ꝑsones || Therfore the worshipful fader & first foūdeur & enbelissher of | ornate eloquence in our englissh . I mene / Maister Geffrey | Chaucer hath translated this sayd werke oute of latyn | in to oure vsual and moder tonge . Folowyng the latyn | as neygh as is possible to be vnderstande . wherein in myne | oppynyon he hath deseruid a perpetuell lawde and thanke | of al this noble Royame of Englond / And in especiall | of them that shall rede & vnsterstande it . For in the sayd | boke they may see what this transitorie & mutable worlde is | And wherto euery mañ liuyng in hit / ought to entende · | Thenne for as moche as this sayd boke so translated is | rare & not spred ne knowen as it is digne and worthy · | For the erudicion and lernyng of suche as ben Ignorañt | & not knowyng of it / Atte requeste of a singuler frende & | gossib of myne · I william Caxton haue done my debuoir & | payne tenprynte it in fourme as is here afore made / In ho- | pyng that it shal prouffite moche peple to the wele & helth | of theire soules / & for to lerne to haue and kepe the better | pacience in aduersitees / And furthermore I desire & requi · | re you that of your charite ye wold praye for the soule of | the sayd worshipful mañ Geffrey Chaucer / first transla- | tour of this sayd boke into englissh & enbelissher in making | the sayd langage

Begin *verso* of 93rd leaf.

Boethius de Consolacione Philosophie.

ornate & fayr . whiche shal endure perpe- | tuelly . and therfore he ought eternelly to be remēbrid . of | whom the body and corps lieth buried in thabbay of west- | mestre beside london to fore the chapele of seynte benet . by | whos sepulture is wreton on a table hongyng on a pylere | his Epitaphye maad by a Poete laureat · whereof the co- | pye foloweth &c̃ ||

Begin *recto* of 94th leaf, the last 9 lines occupying the *verso*.

Epitaphiū Galfridi Chaucer . per
poetam laureatū Stephauū surigonū
Mediolanensē in decretis licenciatū

p yerides muse si possunt numina flet9
  Fūdere . diuinas atqz rigare genas
Galfridi vatis chaucer crudelia fata
  Plangite . sit lacrimis abstinuisse nephas
Uos coluit viuēs . at vos celebrate sepultum
  Reddatur merito gracia digna viro
Grande decus vobis . ē docti musa maronis
  Qua didicit meli9 lingua latina loqui
Grande nouū qz dec9 Chaucer . famāqz pauit
  Heu q)tum fuerat prisca britāna rudis
Reddidit insignem maternis versibz . vt iam
  Aurea splendescat . ferrea facta prius
Hunc latuisse virū nil . si tot opuscula vertes
  Dixeris . egregiis que decorata modis
Socratis ingenium . vel fontes philosophie
  Quitquid & archani dogmata sacra ferunt
Et qscunqz velis tenuit diguissimus artes
  Hic vates . puo conditus hoc tumulo
Ah laudis q)tum preclara britannia perdis
  Dum rapuit tantū mors odiosa virum
Crudeles parce . crudelia fila sorores
  Non tamen extincto corpore . fama perit
Uiuet ineternum . viuēt dum scripta poete
  Uiuant eterno tot monimenta die
Si qua bonos tangit pietas . si carmīe dign9 ||
  Carmina qui cecinit tot cumulata modis
Hec sibi marmoreo scribantur verba sepulchro
  Hec maneat laudis sarcina summa sue
Galfridus Chaucer vates . et fama poesis
  Materne . hac sacra sum tumnlatus humo

Post obitum Caxton voluit te viuere cura
  Willelmi . Chaucer clare poeta tuj
Nam tua non solum compressit opuscula formis
  Has quoqz sz laudes . iussit hic esse tuas

The Latin verses referred to by Caxton are reproduced here on account of the last verse, the authorship of which is undetermined. It may have proceeded from Caxton's own pen.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b 5.

THE MIRROUR OF THE WORLD.

First Edition.

Prologue declaryng to whom this book apperteyneth

Recto of sig. a 4, line 5. with woodcut 13 lines deep down the side.

c Onsideryng | that wordes ben | perisshyng / vayne / & | forgeteful / And wri- | tynges duelle & abi- | de permanēt / as I rede | Vox audita perit / lit | tera scripta manet / | Thise thinges haue | caused that the faites | and dedes of Anncyent meñ / ben sette by declaracion in | fair and Aourned volumes / to thende that science and | Artes lerned and founden of thinges passed myght be | had in perpetuel memorye and remembraunce / ffor the | hertes of nobles in eschewyng of ydlenes at suche tyme | as they haue none other vertuouse ocupacōn on hāde ought | texercise them in redyng / studyng / & visytyng the noble | faytes and dedes of the sage and wysemen somtyme tra- | uaillyng in

Mirrour of the World. 1st edition.

Begin *verso* of sig. a 4.

prouffytable vertues / of whom it happeth ofte | that sōmen ben enclyned to visyte the bookes treatyng | of sciences particuler / And other to rede & visyte bookes | spekyng of faytes of armes / of loue / or of other meuail- || lous histories / And emonge alle other this p̃sent booke | whiche is called the ymage or myrrour of the world / ought to be visyted / redde / & knowen / by cause it treateth | of the world and of the wondreful dyuision therof / in | whiche book a man resonable / may see and vndrrstande | more clerer by the visytyng and seeyng of it and the | figures therin / the situacōn and moeuyng of the firma- | ment / and how the vnyuersal erthe hangeth in the myd- | dle of the same / As y^e chapitres here folowyng shal more | clerly shewe and declare to yon / whiche said book was | translated out of latyn in to ffrensshe by the ordynaunce | of the noble duc / Johan of Berry and Auuergne the | yere of our lord . M . CC . xlv . And now at this tyme | rudely translated out of ffrensshe in to Englissh by me | symple ꝑsone william Caxton / at the request . desire . coste | and dispense of the honourable & worshipful mā Hugh | Bryce Alderman & Cytezeyn of london / entendyng to | present the same vnto the vertuous noble and puissaunt | lord / wylliam lord hastynges lord Chamberlayn vnto | the most Crysten kynge / kynge Edward the fourthe | kynge of England & of ffraunce ꝛc and lieuteñnt | for the same of the toun of Calais and marches there | whom he humbly besecheth to resseyue in gree & thanke / | whiche booke conteyneth in alle lxxvij chapitres / & xxvij | figures / without whiche it may not lightly be vnderstāde / | And for to declare more openly / it is ordeyned in thre | parties / Of whiche the firste cōteyneth xx chapitres and | viij figures / The seconde partie xxxiij chapitres / and ix | figures / And the therde conteyneth xxiiij chapitres and || . x . figures / whiche was engrossed and in alle poyntes or- | deyned by chapitres and figures

Begin *recto* of sig. a 5.

British Museum. Reg. MS. 19 A ix.

L'YMAGE DU MONDE.

Prologue declairant a qui ce volume appartient.

Considerāt que parolles sont & demeurent vaines et escriptures permanentes ont les fais des anciens este mis par declaracon en beaulx & aournes volumes Affin que des sciences acquises & choses passees fust perpetuelle memoire pour les cors des nobles exerciser en lisant et estudiant les fais des sages Jadis traueillans en vertꝰ prouffitables Dont il aduient que les vngs sont enclins a visiter les liures traitans de sciences particulieres Et les aultres a visiter les liures parlans de fais darmes & damours ou aultrement Et est ce present volume appelle lymage du monde Et fu translate de latin en franchois par le commandement et ordonnance du noble duc Jehan de berry et Dauuergne lan · M . deux cens quarante cincq . Si contient cinquante cincq chaptres et vingt sept figures sans lesquelles Il ne porroit estre de legier entendu Et pour le mieulx declarier a este ordonne en trois parties dont la premiere partie contient xiiij chapitres et huyt figures La seconde partie contient xix figures Et la tierce partie est de xxij chapitres et ix figures Si fu grosse et de tous poins ordonne comme dit est en la ville de bruges lan del Incarnacion nostreseigneur Ihucrist mil quatre cens soixante & quatre par le commandement De Jehan le clerc librarier & bourgois dicelle ville de bruges priant Dieu que tous ceulx qui le lirront ou orront lire y puissent tellement prouffiter que ce soit au prouffit et salut de leurs ames & a lonneur et sante de leur corps.

Mirrour of the World. 1st edition.

in ffrenshe in the toun | of bruggis the yere of thyncarnacion of our lord . M . | CCCC . lxiiij . in the moneth of Iuyn / And emprised by | me ryght vnable and of lytil connyng to translate & | brynge it in to our maternal tongue y^{e} second day of the | moneth of janyuer the yer of our said lord . M . CCCC | lxxx in thabbay of westmestre by london / humbly requy- | ryng alle them that shal fynde faulte / to correcte and | amende where as they shal ony fynde / And of suche so | fouden that they repute not the blame on me / but on my | copie / whiche j am charged to folowe as nyghe as god | wil gyue me grace / whom j most humbly beseche to gyue | me scyence · connyng and lyf taccomplysshe and wel to | fynysshe it ꝛc /

In the Library of W. Tite, Esq. M.P., F.S.A. &c. &c.

Begin *recto* of sig. a iij.

MIRROUR OF THE WORLD.

SECOND EDITION.

¶ Prologue declaryng to whom this book apperteyneth /

Wood-cut 13 lines.

COnsyderyng | that wordes | ben perisshing | vayne. and forgete- | ful / And writynges | duelle/ and abyde per | manent / as I rede. | ¶ Vox audita perit | littera scripta manet | ¶ Thyse thynges | haue caused that the | faytes and dedes of | Auncyent men . ben | sette by declaracion in fayr & Aourned volumes . to thende | that sciēce / & artes lerned & foūden of thinges passed myght | be had in perpetuel memorye & remēbraūce / For the hertes of | nobles in eschewyng of Idlenes at suche tyme as they haue | none other vertuouse occupaciō on hande ought texcersise | them in redyng / studieng / & visytyng y^{e} noble faytes & dedes | of the sage & wysemen somtyme trauaillyng in puffytable | vertues / of whom it happeth ofte that sōme ben enclyned to | vysite the bookes treatyng of sciences particuler / and other | to rede & vysite bookes spekyng of faytes of armes . of loue / | or other meruayllous historyes / And emonge alle other | this present book whiche is called the ymage or mirrour of | the world /ought to be visyted/ redde/ & knowen/ by cause it | treateth of the world & of the wondreful dyuision therof. | in whiche booke a man resonable / may see and vnderstande | more clerer by the vysytyng and sayeng of it And the fy- | gures therin/ the sytuacion & moeuyng of the firmament . || & how the vny uersal erthe hangeth in the myddle of the sa | me/ As the chapitres here folowyng shal more clerly she- | we & declare to you whiche said book was translated out of | latyn in to frensshe by the ordynaūce of the noble duk/ Io- | han of Berry & Auuergne the yere of our lord . M . CC . | xlv . And now at this tyme rudely translated out of frens | she in to Englissh by me symple persone Wyllm Caxton . | at the request . desire coste & dispense of the honourable and | worshipful man Hugh Bryce alderman and Cytezen of | londen / entendyng to present the same vnto the vertuous | noble & puyssaūt Lord wyllm lord hastynges lord Cham- | berlayn vnto the most Crysten kynge / kynge Edward the | fourthe kynge of England & of Fraunce &c . and lieute- | naūt for the same of the toun of Caleys & marches there | whom he humbly besecheth to resseyue in gree & thāke . whi | che book conteyneth in alle. xxvij . chapitres & . xxvij . fygu- | res / wythout whiche it may not lyghtly be vnderstande / & | for to declare more openly . it is ordeyned in thre partyes . | Of whiche the first conteyneth xx.chapitres & viij.fygu- | res / Te seconde partie xxxiij . chapitres / & ix fygures / And | the therde conteyneth xxiiij / chapitres . and x fygures / whi- | che was engrossed & in all poyntes ordeyned by chapitres | and fygures in frenshe in the toun of Bruggis the yere of | thyncarnacion of our lord . M . CCCC . lxiiij . in the mo- | neth of Iuyn . And emprysed by me right vnable & of lytil | connyng to translate & brynge it in our maternal tonge y^{e} | second day of the moneth of Ianyuer the yere of our sayde | lord . M . cccc . lxxx/ in thabbay of westmestre by londen / | humbly requyryng all them that shal fynde faulte. to cor- | recte & amende where as they shall ony fynde / And of suche || so foūden that they repute not the blame on me . but on my | copie . whiche I am charged to folowe as nyghe as god | wyl gyue me grace . whom I most humbly beseche to gyue | me sciēce cōnyng & lyf taccomplysshe & wel to fynysshe it &c . |

Begin *verso* of sig. a iij.

Begin *recto* of sig. a iiij.

Mirrour of the World. 1st edition.

t Henne who so wylle comprise and vnderstande the | substaunce of this present volume/for to lerne and|knowe specially the creacion. of this world/ the gretnes | of the firmamēt & lytilnes of therthe in regard to heuen / | how the vij sciences were ffounden and what they bee / by | whiche he may the better auaylle in knowleche alle the | dayes of his lyf / Thenne late hym rede this said volume | treatably. auisedly. & ordynatly that in suche thyng as | he shal rede / he suffre nothyng to passe / but that he vnder- | stonde it right well / And so may he knowe & vnderstonde | veritably the declaracion of this said volume / And he | thenne that so wille obeye this cōmandemēt / May by the | contēte of the same lerne grete partie of the fourme and | condicion of this worlde / And how by y^e^ wyll of our lord || it was by hym created made and accomplisshed / And the | cause wherfor it was establisshid / wherof the debonayr lord | hath don to vs so grete grace / that we euer ben bounden to | gyue hym lawde and worshyp / or ellys we had not ben | of ony valew / ne worth ony thyng / nomore than vnreso- | nable beestis / Thenne late vs praye the maker and crea- | tour / of alle cratures god all myghty that at the begyn-|nyng of this book it liste hym of his most bounteuous | grace to departe with vs of the same that we may lerne / | and that lerned to reteyne / & that reteyned so teche / that | we may haue so parfyght scyence and knowleche of god / | that we may gete therby the helthe of our sowles / and to | be partyners of his glorye permanent and without ende | in heuen Amen /

Begin *verso* of sig. a 5.

Mirrour of the World. 2nd Edition.

THenne who so wylle comprise & vnderstande the sub- | staūce of this present volume. for to lerne & knowe | specially the creacion. of this world the gretenes of the fir | mament and lytylnes of therthe in regard of heuen / how y^e^ | vij. sciences were founden and what they bee / by whiche he | may the better auaylle in knowleche alle y^e^ dayes of his lif | Thēne late hym rede this sayd volume treatably / auisedly | and ordynatly that in suche thing as he shal rede / he suffre | nothyng to passe. but that he vnderstonde it right wel / And | so may he knowe and vnderstonde verytably the declara | cion of this sayd volume. And he thenne that so wylle o- |beye this cōmaundement / May by the contente of the same | lerne grete partye of the fourme & condyciō of this world | ¶ And how by the wyl of our lord it was by him created | made & complysshed. And the cause wherfore it was esta- | blysshid. wherof the debonayr lord hath don to vs so grete | grace. that we euer ben bounden to gyue hym lawde & wor- | ship. or ellys we had not ben of ony valew / ne worth ony | thyng. nomore than vnersonable beestis / Thenne late vs | praye the maker & creatour. of al creatures god almyhty | that at the begynnyng of this book it liste him of his most | bounteuous grace to departe wyth vs of the same that we | may lerne / And that lerned to reteyne / and that reteyned | so teche. that we may haue so parfyght science and knowle | che of god / that we may gete therby the helthe of our sow- | les. and to be partyners of his glorye permanent & wyth- | out ende in heuen Amen /

EPILOGUE.

Recto of sig. *l* 7, line 8.

AND where it is so. that I haue presumed and empry- | sed this forsayd translacyon in to our englisshe and | maternall tongue / Jn whiche I am not well parfyght / | And yet lasse in frensshe / Yet I haue endeuourd me therin / | atte request and desyre coste and dispence of the honourable | and worshipful man / Hughe Bryce Cytezeyn and Alder- | man of london / Whiche hath sayd to me that he entendeth | to presente it / vnto the puissaunt noble and vertuous lorde | My lorde hastynges. Chamberlayn vnto our

Mirrour of the World. 1st edition.

Verso of sig. n 3, line 17.

EPILOGUE.

a Nd where it is so / that I haue presumed and empri- | sed this forsayd translacion in to our englissh and | maternal tongue / Jn whiche I am not wel parfyght / | And yet lasse in frensshe / yet I haue endeuourd me therin / | atte request and desyre . coste and dispence of the honou- | rable and worshipful man . Hughe Bryce Cytezeyn and | Alderman of london / whiche hath sayd to me that he en- | tendeth to presente it / vnto the puissaunt noble and ver- | tuous lorde / My lorde hastynges . Chamberlayn vnto our | souerayn lord the kynge / And his lieutenaunt of the | toun of Calays & Marches there / Jn whiche translacion | I knowleche my self symple . rude . and ygnorāt / wherfor | I humbly byseche my sayd lord Chamberlayn to perdonne | me of this rude and symple translacion / how be it / I leye | for myn excuse / that I haue to my power folowed my copye | And as nygh as to me is possible I haue made it so | playn / that euery man resonable may vnderstonde it / yf he | aduysedly and ententyfly rede or here it / And yf ther be | faulte in mesuryng of the firmament / Sonne / Mone / or | of therthe / or in ony other meruaylles herin conteyned / I | beseche you not tarette the defaulte in me / but in hym that | made my copye / whiche book I began first to trāslate the | second day of Janyuer the yere of our lord . M . CCCC . | lxxx . And fynysshyd the viij day of Marche the same | yere / And the xxj yere of the Regne of the most Crysten | kynge / kynge Edward the fourthe / vnder the Shadowe of | whos noble proteccion I haue emprysed & fynysshed this | sayd lytil werke and boke / Besechynge Almyghty god / to be his protectour and defendour agayn alle his Ene- | myes / and gyue hym grace to subdue them / and inespeci- | all them that haue late enterprysed agayn right and re- | son to make warre wythin his

Recto of sig. n 4, the *verso* blank.

Mirrour of the World. 2nd edition.

souerayn | lord the Kynge / And his lyeutenaunt of the toun of | Calays and marches there / Jn whiche translacion I kno- | wleche my self symple / rude & ygnoraunt / Wherfore I hum | bly byseche my sayd lord Chamberlayn to pardonne me | of this rude & symple translacion how be it / J leye for myn | excuse / that I haue to my power folowed my copye / And | as nygh as to me is possible J haue made it so playn / that | euery man resonable may vnderstonde it / Yf he aduysedly | and ententyfly rede or here it ¶ And yf ther be faulte | in mesuryng of the firmament / Sōne / Mone / or of ther- | the . or in ony other meruaylles herin conteyned / J beseche | you not tarette the faulte in me but in hym that made my | copye . whiche book I began first to translate the second | day of Ianyuer the yere of our lord / M . CCCC . lxxx . | And fynysshyd the viij day of Marche the same yere / And | the xxj yere of the Regne of the most Crysten kynge . Kyn | ge Edward the fourthe . Vnder the shadowe of whos noble | proteccion I haue emprysed and fynysshed this sayd lytyl | werke and boke . Besechynge Almyghty god to be his pro | tectour and defendour agayn alle his Enemyes and gyue | hym grace to subdue them / And inespeciall them that haue | late enterprysed agayn ryght & reson to make warre wyth- | in his Royamme . And also to preserue and mayntene him | in longe lyf and prosperous helthe . And after this short / and transytorye lyf he brynge hym and vs in to his celesty- | all blysse in heuene AMEN /

Begin *verso* of sig *l* 7.

¶ Caxton me fieri fecit.

Royamme / And also to | preserue and mayntene hym in longe lyf and prosperous | helthe / And after this short & transitorye lyf he brynge | hym and vs in to his celestyal blysse in heuene Amen /

Mirrour of the World. 1st edition.

REYNARD THE FOX.

First Edition. Prologue.

British Museum. Press Mark C 11 c. 3.

Hyer begynneth thystorye of reynard the foxe

Begin *verso* of sig. a 3.

Jn this historye ben wreton the parables / goode lerynge / | and dyuerse poyntes to be merkyd / by whiche poyntes | men maye lerne to come to the subtyl knoweleche of su- | che thynges as dayly ben vsed & had in the counseyllys | of lordes and prelates gostly and worldly / and / also | emonge marchantes and other comone peple / And this | booke is maad for nede and prouffyte of alle god folke / | As fer as they in redynge or heeryng of it shal mowe | vnderstande and fele the forsayd subtyl deceytes that day- | ly ben vsed in the worlde / not to thentente that men shold | vse them but that euery man shold eschewe and kepe | hym from the subtyl false shrewis that they be not dece- | yuyd / Thenne who that wyll haue the very vnderstan- | dyng of this mater / he muste ofte and many tymes rede | in thys boke and ernestly and diligently marke wel | that he redeth / ffor it is sette subtylly / lyke as ye shal see | in redyng of it / and not ones to rede it ffor a man shal | not wyth ones ouer redyng fynde the ryght vnderstan- | dyng ne comprise it wel / but oftymes to rede it shal cause | it wel to be vnderstande / And for them that vnderstan- | deth it / it shall be ryght Joyous playsant and prouf | fitable

Epilogue.

The original text ends with these words: "And the foxe lyued forthon wyth his wyf | and his chyldren in grete Ioye and gladnes /" to which Caxton has added—

Recto of sig. *l* 5, line 10.

Now who | that said to yow of the ffoxe more or lesse than ye haue | herd or red / I holde it for lesynge / but this that ye haue | herd or red / that may ye byleue wel / & who that byleueth | it not / is not therfore out of the right byleue / how be it / | ther be many yf that they had seen it / they shold haue the | lasse doubte of it / for ther ben many thynges in the world | whiche ben byleuyd though they were neuer seen / Also | ther ben many fygures / playes foūden / that neuer were | don ne happed / But for an example to the peple / that they | may ther by the better / vse and folowe vertue / & teschewe | synne and vyces / in lyke wyse may it be by this booke / | that who that wyl rede

Reynard the Fox. 1st edition.

Begin *verso* of sig. *l* 5.

this mater / though it be of iapes | and bourdes / yet he may fynde therin many a good wyse- | dom and lernynges / By whiche he may come to vertue & | worship. Ther is no good man blamed herin / hit is | spoken generally / Late euery man take his owne part | as it belongeth & behoueth / and he that fyndeth hym gyl- | ty in ony dele or part therof / late hym bettre & amende hym | And he that is veryly good / I pray god kepe hym therin || And yf ony thyng be said or wreton herin / that may | greue or dysplease ony man / blame not me / but the foxe / | for they be his wordes & not myne / Prayeng alle them | that shal see this lytyl treatis / to correcte and amende / | Where they shal fynde faute / For I haue not added ne | mynusshed but haue folowed as nyghe as I can my copye | whiche was in dutche / and by me willm Caxton trans- | lated in to this rude & symple englyssh in thabbey of west- | mestre. fynysshed the vj daye of Juyn the yere of our | lord · M . CCCC . Lxxxj . & the xxj yere of the regne of | kynge Edward the iiijth /

Here endeth the historye of Reynard the foxe ꝛc

Cambridge. Pepysian Library.

REYNARD THE FOX.

SECOND EDITION. EPILOGUE.

Unfortunately the only impression known of this Edition wants the last two leaves, which are, however, supplied in manuscript of the 17th Century, and contain the following Epilogue which may have been transcribed from a copy as issued by Caxton.

I shall therefore make an end. Now this is the History of Renard so ferre forth as is knowen or mote be gadered out of ould Bokes, and if ony more shal be written of him than is hier set forth, it ben all lyes and falshoods for it is not written ony where what did hereafter befalle hym nor how he dyde, but I weene he was hongid for he hyely deseruyd it, for he was a shrewde and felle theefe and deceivyd the King w$^{\text{th}}$ lesingys and so mote all false traytours and such as ben pleyn'd with ony Vilony be honged by their Neckis I shold be therewith weel apayd. Yet there ben many such w$^{\text{ch}}$ neverthelesse abide in great worship alle their livys yet that helpeth not but they goo to hell when they dye and the Deviles pull them by their beardes and brenne their erses w$^{\text{th}}$ hote Irons, tho sofre they moche paine for their misdedys: God grant us his grace that we may not comen thereto, for it is an evel place, it growleth me sore and myne heer stondeth right up when I think theron. But if wee ben trew men and ryght wise wee shall soo be delivered fro the peryl of deth.

Explicit.

TULLY OF OLD AGE.

PROLOGUE.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b. 6.

Begin *recto* of sig. i 2.

h Ere begynneth the prohemye vpon the reducynge / | both out of latyn as of frensshe in to our englyssh | tongue / of the polytyque book named **Tullius de Senec-|tute**. whiche that **Tullius** wrote vpon the disputacōns & | cōmynycacions made to the puissaūt duc **Cato** senatour | of rome by **Scipion** & **Lelius** / thēne beyng yong noble | knyghtes & also senatours of the said rome / of the wor- | shippe / recōmendacyon & magnyfycence. that shold be gy- | uen to men of olde age / for theyr desertes & experyence in | wysedom of polytyque gouernaūce / & blamed them that re | prouen or lothen olde age / & how **Caton** exhorteth & coūseil- | leth olde men to be Ioyeful / and bere pacyently olde age | whan it cometh to them / And how **Tullius** at reuerence | of **Caton** declareth by waye of example. how **Enneus** | thaūcyent philosophre purposeth and wryteth in thre ver- | ses compendyously vnto his frende **Attitus** also a sena | tour of Rome / how he toke grete thought and charge for | the gouernaunce of the comyn prouffyght / ffor whiche | he deserued grete lawde and honoure in preferryng the | same named in latyn **Res Publica** kepyng the Ro- | maynes prosperous / & defendyng them fro theyr aduersa- | ryes and rebelles / whiche book was translated and | thystoryes openly declared. by the ordenaunce & desyre of | the noble Auncyent knyght Syr **Johan Fastolf** of | the countee of **Norfolk** banerette. lyuyng the age of | four score yere. excercisyng the warrys in the Royame | of Fraunce and other countrees / ffor the diffence and | vnyuersal welfare of both royames of englond and | ffraunce by fourty yeres enduryng / the fayte of armes || hauntyng. And in admynystryng Iustice and polytique | gouernaunce vnder thre kynges. that is to wete **Henry** | the fourth. **Henry** the fyfthe. **Henry** the syxthe / And | was gouernour of the duchye of **Angeou** and the coū- | tee of **Mayne**. Capytayn of many townys. Castellys | and fortressys in the said Royame of ffraunce / hauyng | the charge and saufgarde of them dyuerse yeres. ocupy- | eng and rewlynge thre honderd speres and the bowes | acustomed thenne / And yeldyng good acompt of the | forsaid townes castellys & fortresses to the seyd kynges | and to theyr lyeutenauntes / Prynces of noble recomen- | dacion / as **Johan** regent of ffraunce Duc of Bedforde | **Thomas** duc of excestre / **Thomas** duc of clarēce & other | lyeutenaūtes / prayeng to take this reducyng pacyently / & | submyttyng me to the amendyng & correction of the reder | and vnderstonder / that is disposed to rede or haue ony | contemplacion in

Begin *verso* of sig. i 2.

Tully of Old Age.

thystoryes of this book / whiche were | drawen and compyled out of the bookes of thauncyent | phylosophers of Grece / As in thorygynal text of **Tul- | lij de Senectute** in latyn is specyfyced compendyous- | ly / whiche is in maner harde the texte . But this book | reduced in Englyssh tongue / is more ample expowned | and more swetter to the reder kepyng the Iuste senten- | ce of the latyn /

Begin *recto* of sig. i 3.

t Hēne for as moche as this book thus reduced | in to our englyssh is with grete instaūce labour | & coste comen in to myn honde which I aduysedly|| haue seen / ouer redde / and considered the noble . honeste / | and vertuoꝰ mater necessarily requysite vnto men stepte | in age / and to yong men for to lerne / how they owght to | come to the same / to whiche euery man naturelly desyreth | to atteyne / And the mater and commynycacion of | this said book bytwene that wyse and noble man **Cato** / | on that one parte / and Scipio and Lelius two yonge | knyghtes on that other parte . is moche behoefful to be | knowen to euery man . vertuous & wel disposed of what | some euer eage resonable that he be . Thenne by cause I | haue not seen ony of the same here to fore . I haue ende- | noured me to gete it with grete difficulte / and so goten / | haue put it in enprynte and dilygently aftir my lytil vn- | derstandyng corrected it / to thentente / that noble / vertuoꝰ | and wel disposed men myght haue it to loke on & to vn- | derstonde it . And this book is not requysyte ne eke con- | uenyent for euery rude and symple man . whiche vnder- | standeth not of science ne connyng . and for suche as ha- | ue not herde of the noble polycye / and prudence of the Ro- | maynes / but for noble / wyse / & grete lordes gentilmen & | marchaūtes that haue seen & dayly ben occupyed in maters | towchyng the publyque weal / And in especial vnto | them that ben passed theyr grene yongthe / and eke | theyr myddle eage callyd virylyte / and ben approchid | vnto senectute callyd olde and auncyent eage . wherin | they may see how to suffre & bere the same pacyently . and | what surete & vertue ben in the same / And haue also cause | to be ioyous & glad / that they haue escaped and passed the | manyfolde peryllys & doubteuous aduentures that ben in || Iuuente & yongthe / as in this said booke here folowyng | ye may more playnly see . whiche booke endyted & wrote | in latyn / the noble philosopher and prynce of Eloquence | **Tullius** Consul Romayn . within the breste of whom / | Phylosophye naturel and morall had chosen her domycill | Out of whiche it hath ben translated in to frensh and | aftir in to our Englyssh tongue . as hier aftir al a lon- | ge ye may see /

Begin *verso* of sig. i 3.

Tully of Old Age.

a Lso whan the said **Tullius** had made his | book de senectute . he aftir made another book | callid de amicicia . that is to saye of frendship | In which he reherceth of two yong knyghtes | of Rome that one named Seuola . and that other Fa- | unyus / bothe sones in lawe vnto Lelius a noble Sena- | tour of Rome . and felawe and alyed in frendship with | Scipio Affrycan / whiche within fewe dayes to fore was | deed . How they desyred to knowe of the frendship that | was bytwene the said Scipio whyles he liued / & Lelius | theyr said fader in lawe / And of the disputacion in frend | ship / as alle playnly it appiereth in the same / which book | was translated by the vertuous and noble Erle therle | of wurcestre in to our englyssh tongue / And by cause it | is accordyng / and requysyte to haue frendship Joyned to | olde eage / I haue enprynted the said book of frendship | and annexed it to the book of eage . which book of frend | ship is ful necessary & behoefful vnto euery estate & degree | & aftir I haue sette in this said book folowyng them bothe | a noble treatys of the declamacion of two noble knyghtes || Romaynes in makyng of two oracions to fore the Se- | nate to knowe wherin noblesse resteth . And thus this | volume is dyuyded in to thre particuler werkes . whiche | ben of grete wysedom in olde age / very loue in frendship . | And the question wherin noblesse resteth / whiche lytil | volume I haue emprysed tenprynte vnder the vmbre and | shadowe of the noble proteccion of our moost dradde / soue- | uerayn and naturel lyege lord / and moost Cristen kyng | Kyng Edward the fourth / to whom I moste humbly by- | seche to receyue the said book of me William Caxton his | moost humble subget and litil seruaunt / and not to des- | deyne to take it of me so poure ignoraunt & symple a per- | sone . And of his moost boũtynuous grace to pardōne me | so presumyng / beschyng Almyghty god to kepe maynte- | ne / and graunte to hym longe lyf and prosperous and | thaccom plysshement of his hye and noble desyres . And | aftir this short and transitorye lyf euirlastyng lyf and | Ioye in heuen . Amen:

Begin *recto* of sig. i 4.

Colophon.

Thus endeth the boke of Tulle of olde age translated | out of latyn in to frenshe by laurence de primo facto at | the comaundement of the noble prynce Lowys Duc of | Burbon / and enprynted by me symple persone William | Caxton in to Englysshe at the playsir solace and reue- | rence of men growyng in to olde age the xij· day of Au- | gust the yere of our lord . M . CCCC . lxxxj:

Recto of sig. i 3, line 4. The *verso* and i 4 are blank.

British Museum. Same Work.

TULLY OF FRIENDSHIP.

PROLOGUE.

Begin *recto* of sig. a 1.

Here foloweth the said Tullius de Amicicia translated in | to onr maternall Englissh tongue by the noble famous | Erle / The Erle of wurcestre sone & heyer to the lord typ-|toft / which in his tyme flowred in vertue / & cunnyng / to | whom I knewe none like emonge the lordes of the tem-|poralite in science & moral vertue / I beseche almyghty god | to haue mercy on his sowle / & praye al them that shal here | or rede this lityl treatys moch vertuoꝰ of frendship in li-|ke wise of your charyte to remēbre his soule emong your | prayers / And by cause this werke was made by the pri-|nce of Eloquence Tulluis intitled de Amycicia aftir that | he had acheuid his boke de senectute / as hertofore ye maye | more playnly see at large / thēne me semeth it requisite & | necessarye that I sette in folowing the said book / this book | de Amicicia / whiche by goddes grace shal playnly folowe |

EPILOGUE.

Recto of sig. d 4, line 7.

Thus endeth this boke named Tullius de Amicicia / | whiche treateth of frendship vtterid and declared by a | noble senatour of Rome named **Lelyus** vnto his two | sones in lawe also noble men of róme named **Fauuyus** | & **Seuola**. In which they desyred hym to enforme them | of the frendship / that was bytwene the said **Lelius** and | the noble prynce **Scipio Affrican**. wherin he hath answe-|red & tolde to them the noble vertues that ben in frendship | And withoute vertue veray frendship may not be . as he | preuyth by many exsamples and notable conclusions as | here to fore is moch playnly expressyd & said all a longe / | whiche werke was translated by the vertuous and no-|ble lord and Erle / therle of worcestre . on whoos sowle I | bechese almyghty god to haue mercy / And Alle ye | that shal rede or here this sayd werke of your charyte I | beseche you to praye for hym . And by cause this said | book de Amicicia is ful necessarye and requysyte to be | had and knowen . I haue putt it in emprynte / to | thentent / that veray Amyte and frendship may be had || as it ought to be in euery estate and degree / And vertue | withoute whiche frendship may not be had · may be encre-|aced . and vices eschewid · Thenne whan I had enprynted | the book of olde age / whiche the said Tullyus made / me | semed it acordyng that this said booke of frendship | shold folowe / by cause / ther can not be annexed to olde age | a bettir thynge / than good and very frendship . which two | said bokes here to fore wreton ben of grete

Begin *verso* of sig. d 4.

Tully of Friendship.

wisedom and | auctoryte / And full necessarye behoeffull and requysite | vnto euery age estate and degree / And that they prouf-|fyte in encreacyng of vertue / I beseche the blessyd Try-|nyte to geue and graunte vnto alle them that shal rede & here thise bokes / And so to flee & eschewe vices and syn-|nes / that by the merytes of vertuouse honeste / and good | werkes / we may atteyne aftir this shorte / transytorye lyf | the eternall blessyd lyf in heuen / where is ioye and glorye | withoute ende . Amen .

THE ORATIONS OF CORNELIUS SCIPIO AND GAYUS FLAMINEUS.

EPILOGUE.

British Museum. Same Work.

Verso of sig. f 7, line 23.

Begin *recto* of sig. f 8.

As touchyng the sentence dyffynytyf gyuen by the Se-|nate aftir thise two noble knyghtes had purposed and | shewed theyr Oracions I fynde none as yet pronounced | ne gyuen of whiche myn auctor maketh ony mencion | of in his book / Thenne I wolde demaunde of theym that || shal rede or here this book . whiche of thies tweyne that is | to saye **Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flammy-|neus** was moost noble · And in whiche of theym bothe . | aftir the contente of theyr oracions that noblesse resteth | And to hym Iuge ye this noble and vertuous lady Lu-|cresse to be maryed / And here I make an ende of this mater for this tyme / Prayeng and requyryng all theym | that in this said werke shal haue ony playsyre / that ye | wil remembre hym that translated it in to our maternal | and Englyssh tongue / And not only this said werke | but the book of **Tullius de Amicicia** here to fore en-|prynted whith treateth so wel of frendship & amyte / I me ne the right vertuoꝰ and noble Erle . Therle of wurces-| tre / whiche late pytously lost his lyf / whos soule I recom-| mende vnto your special prayers . and also in his tyme | made many other vertuous werkys / whiche I haue herd | of / O good blessyd lord god . what grete losse was it of | that noble vertuous and wel disposed lord / whan I re-| membre and aduertyse his lyf / his science . and his ver-| tue / me thynketh god not displesyd . ouer grete a losse of | suche a man / consyderyng his estate and connyng . And | also thexcercise of the same . with the grete laboures in | gooyng on pylgremage vnto Iherusalem visytyng there |

See Note * below.

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* This John, Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcestre, was born at Everton in Cambridgeshire, educated in Baliol College, Oxon, travelled into the Holy Land, and after his pilgrimage was three years in Italy, where Pope Pius II. shed tears of joy at his eloquent oration. He was twice Lord High Treasurer of England, and in 1467, deputy to George, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Being attainted by Parliament, he was beheaded anno 1470.—See *British Librarian* page 260.

The Orations, &c.

the holy places . that oure blessyd lord Jhesu Criste halo-| wed thith his blessyd presence · And shedyng there his | precious blood for oure redempcion · And from thens | ascended vnto his fader in heuen . And what worship had | he at Rome in the presence of oure holy fader the pope . | And so in alle other places vnto his deth / At whiche || deth euery man that was there . myght lerne to dye and | take his deth paciently / wherin I hope and doubte not / but | that god receyued his soule in to his euirlastyng blysse | ffor as I am enformed he ryght aduysedly ordeyned alle | his thynges as well for his last will of wordly goodes | as for his sowle helthe . & pacyently and holyly without | grudchyng in charyte to fore that he departed out of this | world / whiche is gladsom and Ioyous to here / Thenne I | here recommende his sowle vnto youre prayers / and also | that we at our departyng maye departe in suche wyse / that | it maye please our lord god to receyue vs in to his euir- | lastyng blysse . Amen :

Begin verso of sig. f 8.

Explicit per Caxton.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b 24.

DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

Prologue.

Begin recto of 1st leaf.

Hit is so that in many and diuerse places the comyn cronicles | of englond ben had and also now late enprinted at westmynstre | And for as moche as the descripcion of this londe whiche of olde | tyme was named albyon / and after Britayne is not descriued | ne comynly had / ne the noblenesse and worthynesse of the same is | not knowen / Therfor J entende to sette in this booke the discripcōn | of this said Jle of Britayne with the commoditees of the same

Epilogue.

Verso of 30th leaf, line 13.

Here endeth het discripcion of Britayne the / whiche conteyneth en | glond wales and scotland / & also bicause Irlonde is vnder the reu | le of englond & of olde tyme it hath so continued therfore J haue | sette the descripcion of the same after the said brituyne / which J ha | ue taken oute of Policronicon / And bicause it is necessarie to alle | englisshmen to knowe the propretees cōmoditees & meruailles of | them / therfore J haue sette them in enprinte according to the trans- | lacion of Treuisa / whiche atte request of the lord Barkeley trans | lated the book of Policronicon in to englissh / Fynysshed by me | william Caxton the xviij . day of August the yere of our lord god | M . CCCC . lxxx . and the xx . yere of the regne of kyng Edward | the fourthe .

GODEFROY OF BOLOYNE.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. c. 4.

Epilogue.

Verso of sig. 17 5, line 34.

Thns endeth this book Intitled the laste siege and conqueste of | Jherusalem with many other historyes therin comprysed / Fyrst | of Eracles / and of the meseases of the cristen men in the holy | londe / And of their releef & conquest of Jherusalem / and how Go | deffroy of boloyne was first kyng of the latyns in that royamme | & of his deth . translated & reduced out of ffreusshe in to englysshe || by me symple persone Wylliam Caxton to thende that euery

Begin *recto* of sig. 17 6.

cri- | sten man may be the better encoraged tenterprise warre for the de | fense of Christendom . and to recouer the sayd Cyte of Jherusalem | in whiche oure blessyd sauyour Jhesu Criste suffred deth for al | mankynde . and roose fro deth to lyf / And fro the same holy londe | ascended in to heuen · And also that Cristen peple one vnyed in a | veray peas / myght empryse to goo theder in pylgremage with | strong honde for to expelle the sarasyns and turkes out of the same | that our lord myght be ther seruyd & worshipped of his chosen cri- | sten peple in that holy & blessyd londe in which he was Jncarnate | and blissyd it with the presence of his blessyd body whyles he was | here in erthe emonge vs / by whiche conquest we myght deserue af | ter this present short and transitorye lyf · the celestial lyf to dwelle | in heuen eternally in ioye without ende Amen/ Which book J pre | sente vnto the mooste Cristen kynge · kynge Edward the fourth . | humbly besechyng his hyenes to take no displesyr at me so presu- | myng . whiche book J began in marche the xij daye and fynys- | shyd the vij day of Juyn / the yere of our lord · M . CCCC · lxxxj | & the xxj yere of the regne of our sayd sauerayn lord kyng Ed | ward the fourth . & in this maner sette in forme and enprynted the | xx day of nouembre the yere a forsayd in thabbay of westmester | by the said wylliam Caxton.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. d. 8.

GOLDEN LEGEND.

First Edition. Prologue.

Recto of 2nd leaf, 1st col. underneath large woodcut, 1st leaf being blank. (The leaves are transposed in this copy.)

t **He holy and blessed doctour** | saynt Jerom sayth this aucto | ryte / do alweye somme good | werke / to thende that the deuyl fynde | the not ydle / And the holy doctour | saynt austyn sayth in the book of the | labour of monkes / that no man stronge | or myghty to laboure ought to be ydle | for which cause whan I had parfour-

Begin 2nd column.

|| med & accomplisshed dyuers werkys | & hystoryes translated out of frensshe | in to englysshe at the requeste of cer- | teyn lordes / ladyes and gentylmen / | as thystorye of the recuyel of

Golden Legend. 1st edition.

Begin *verso* of 2nd leaf, 1st column.

Troye / | the book of the chesse / the hystorye of | Jason / The hystorye of the myrrour | of the world / the xv bookes of Meta- | morpheseos in whyche ben conteyned || the fables of ouyde / and the hystorye | of godefroy of boloyn in the conqueste | of Iherusalem / wyth other dyuers wer | kys & bookes / I nyste what werke to | begynne & put forth after the said wer | kys tofore made / & for as moche as y- | delnesse is so moche blamed / as sayth | saynt bernard the myllyfluous doctour | that she is moder of lyes / & stepdame | of vertues / & it is she that ouerthro- | weth stronge men in to synne / quen- | chyth vertue / nouryssheth pryde / & ma- | keth the waye redy to goo to helle / and | Johan cassyodore sayth that the thouzt | of hym that is ydle thynketh on none | other thynge but on lychorous metys | & vyandes for his bely / and the holy | saynt bernard aforesayd sayth in an | epystle / whan the tyme shal come / that | it shal behoue vs to rendre and gyue | acomptes of our ydle tyme / what reson | may we rendre / or what answer shal | we gyue / whan in ydlenes is none ex | cuse / & prosper sayth that who someuer | lyueth in ydlenesse / lyueth in manere | of a dombe beest / and by cause I haue | seen the auctorytees / that blame & des- | pyse so moche ydlenes / & also knowe | wel that it is one of the capytal and | dedely synnes moche hateful vnto god | Therfore I haue

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British Museum. Reg. MS. 19 B xvii.

JEHAN DE VIGNAY'S TRANSLATION OF "LEGENDA AUREA."

PROLOGUE.

Monseigneur sainc Jeroisme dit ceste auctorite. Fai tous iours aucune chose de bien que le diable ne te truisse oiseus. Et mon seigneur saint augustin dit ou liure de leuure des moines que nul homme puissant de labourer ne doit estre oyseus. Pour la quelle chose quant ie oy p'fait et acompli le mirroir des hystoires du monde et translate du latin en francois a la requeste de tres puissant et noble dame. Ma dame Jehanne de Borgoigne royne de france par la grace de dieu Je fu tout esbahi a quelle œuure faire ie me metroie apres si tres haute et longue œuure. Come iauoie faite par deuant. Et pour ce que oiseuiete est tant blasmee. q. monseignour saint benart dit. que elle est mere de trufles. ourratre de uertus. Et est celle qui trebuche les fors hõmes en pechie. et fait escaindre v'tu. et norrir orgueil. et fait la uoie daler en enfer. Et iehan cassiodore dit que le pensee de al qui est oiseus ne pense a autre chose que as uiandes pour son uentir. Et mesire s. benart dit en une epistre quant a nous couuendra rendre raison du temps oiseus quelle reson en porrous nous rendre. quant en oisiuete ne en temps oiseus na cause de nulle raison. Et prosper mesme dit que al qui uit en oyseuse uit en maniere de beste mue. Et pour ce que ie ai lieu les auctorites qui blasment et despisent oyseue. ne uoil plus estre oiseus. Mais me uoil metre a telle œuure faire comme ie iay acoustume. Et pour ce que monseigneur saint augustin dit sur un pseaume que bonne œuure ne doit par estre faite par pouoir de paine mes par amour droiture. Et que cest uraie et souueraine franchise. Et pour ce que il mest auis que cest souuerain bien faire entendre as gens qui ne sont pas lettres les natiuites les uies les passions et les mors des sains et aucuns autres fais notoires des temps passes. Me sui ie mis a translater en francois la legende doree. Car aussi comme lor est plus noble sus tous autres metaus. Ainsi est ceste legende tenue plus noble sus toutes autres. Si depri le glorieus pere de paradis que il li plaise a moy donner sens et tẽps et esp'ance de p'faire deuement cest œuure 9menciee. si que ce soit al a loenge de son glorieus non. et toute la court celestial. et au profit de lame de moy. et a ledificacõn de tout ceulz et celles qui le liure liront ou orront.

Golden Legend. 1st edition.

concluded & fermelye | purposed in my self nomore to be ydle | but wyl applye my self to laboure and | suche ocupacion as I haue be acustomed | to do / & for as moche as saynt austyn | aforesayd sayth vpon a psalme / that | good werke ought not be doon for fere | of payne / but for the loue of rightwys | nesse / & that it be of veray & souerayn | fraunchyse / and by cause me semeth to | be a souerayn wele to Incyte & exhorte | men and wymmen to kepe them from | slouthe and ydlenesse / and to lete to be | vnderstonden to suche peple as been not | letterd / the natyuytees / the lyues / the | passyons / the myracles / and the dethe | of the holy sayntes / & also sōme other | notorye dedes and actes of tymes pas | sed / I haue submysed my self to trans | late in to englyssle the legende of sayn- | tes / which is callyd legenda aurea in | latyn / that is to say the golden legende | for in lyke wyse as golde is moste no | ble aboue al other metalles / in lyke | wyse is thys legende holden moost no- || ble aboue al other werkys / ageynst me | here myght somme persones saye that | thys legende hath be translated tofore | and trouthe it is / but for as moche as | I had by me a legende in frensshe / ano | ther in latyn / & the thyrd in englysshe | whiche varyed in many and dyuers | places / and also many hystoryes were | comprysed in the two other bookes / | whiche were not in the englysshe book | and therfore I haue wryton one oute | of the sayd thre bookes / which I haue | ordryd otherwyse than the sayd en- | glysshe legende is / whiche was so tofore | made / besechyng alle theym that shall | see or here it redde to pardone me where | I haue erryd / or made fawte / whyche | yf ony be / is of ygnoraunce and ageyn | my wylle / and submytte it hooly of | suche as can & may to correcte it / hum | bly bysechyng them so to doo / and in | so doyng / they shal deserue a syngu- | ler lawde and meryte / & I shal praye | for them vnto almighty god that he | of his benygne grace rewarde them & c̃ | And that it prouffyte to alle them that | shal rede or here it redde / and may en- | creace in them vertue / and expelle vyce | and synne / that by the ensaumple of | the holy sayntes amende theyr lyuyng | here in thys shorte lyf / that by their me | rytes / they and I may come to euer- | lastyng lyf & blysse in heuen amen /

2nd column.

Second Prologue.

Recto of 3rd leaf, 1st col. underneath wood-cut of the Horse.

a Nd for as moche as this | sayd werke was grete & ouer | chargeable to me taccomplisshe | I feryd me in the begynnyng of the | translacyon to haue contynued it /by | cause of the longe tyme of the transla- | cion / & also in thenpryntyng of y^e same | & in maner halfe desperate to haue ac- | complissd it / was in purpose to haue | lefte it / after that I had begonne to | translate it / & to haue layed it aparte | ne had it be at thynstaunce & requeste |

Golden Legend. 1st edition. of the puyssant noble & vertuous erle | my lord wyllyam erle of arondel / whi | che desyred me to procede & contynue | the said werke / & promysed me to take | a resonable quãtyte of them when they | were achyeued & accomplisshed / and | sente to me a worshypful gentylman | a seruaunte of his named John Stan- | ney whych solycyted me in my Lordes | name that I shold in no wyse leue it | but accomplisshe it promysyng that my | sayd lord shold duryng my lyf yeue | & graunte to me a yerely fee / that is | to wete a bucke in sommer / & a doo in | wynter / with whiche fee I holde me | wel contente / Thenne atte contempla- | cion & reuerence of my sayd lord / J | haue endeuoyred 2nd column. me to make an ende | & fynysshe thys sayd translacion / and | also haue enprynted it in the moost best | Wyse that I haue coude or myght / and | presente this sayd boook to his good & | noble lordshyp / as chyef causer of the | achyeuyng of hit / prayeng hym to take | it in gree of me Wyllyam caxton hys | poure seruaunte | & that it lyke hym to | remembre my fee / & I shal praye vnto | almyghty god for his longe lyf and | welfare / & after this shorte & transy- | torye lyf to come in to euerlastyng ioye | in heuen / the whiche he sende to hym & | me / & vnto al them that shal rede and | here this sayd book / that for the loue & | feythe of whome al these holy sayntes | hath suffred deth and passyon amen / And to thende eche hystoryy lyf & | passyon may be shortely fouñden I haue | ordeyned this table folowyng / where & | in what leef he shal fynde such as | shal be desyred / and haue sette the nom- | bre of euery leef in the margyne /

EPILOGUE.

Recto of sig. kk 5. Begin 2nd column. Thus endeth the legende named in latyn legenda aurea / that is to saye | in englysshe the golden legende / For | lyke as golde passeth in valewe alle | other metalles / sot hys legende excedeth | alle otherbookes / wherin ben contey- | ned alle the hygh and grete festys of | our lord / the festys of our blessyd la | dy / the lyues passyons and myracles | of many other sayntes / and other hys- | toryes and actes | as al allonge here | afore is made mencyon / Whiche werke | I haue accomplisshed at the commaun- | demente and requeste of the noble and | puyssaunte erle / and my special good | lord Wyllyam erle of arondel / & haue | fynysshed it at westmestre the twenty | day of nouembre / the yere of our lord | M / CCCC / lxxxiij / & the fyrst yere | of the reygne of Kyng Rychard the | thyrd

By me wyllyam Caxton

No perfect copy is known of the second edition of "Golden Legend."

CATON.

PROLOGUE.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b. 8.

Begin *recto* of sig. ij, the first leaf being blank.

¶ Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the book callid | Caton / whiche booke hath ben translated in to Englysshe by | Mayster Benet Burgh / late Archedeken of Colchestre and | hye chanon of saint stephens at westmestre / which ful craftly | hath made it in balade ryal for the erudicion of my lord Bou- | sher / Sone & heyr at that tyme to my lord the erle of Estsex | And by cause of late cam to my hand a book of the said Caton | in Frensshe / whiche reherceth many a fayr lernynge and nota | ble ensamples / I haue translated it oute of frensshe in to En | glysshe / as al along here after shalle appiere / whiche I presente | vnto the Cyte of london /

Vnto the noble auncyent / and renōmed Cyte / the Cyte | of london in Englond / J William Caxton Cytezeyn | & coniurye of the same / & of the fraternyte & felauship | of the mercerye owe of ryght my seruyse & good wyll / and of | very dute am bounden naturelly to assiste ayde & counceille as | ferforth as I can to my power / as to my moder / of whom I ha- | ue receyued my noureture & lyuynge / And shal praye for the | good prosperite & polecye of the same duryng my lyf / For as | me semeth it is of grete nede / by cause I haue knowen it in my | yong age moche more welthy prosperous & rycher than it is | at this day / And the cause is that ther is almost none / that en | tendeth to the comyn wele but only euery man for his singuler | prouffyte / O whan I remembre the noble Romayns / that for | the comyn wele of the Cyte of Rome / they spente not only | theyr moeuable goodes / but they put theyr bodyes & lyues in | Ieopardy & to the deth / as by many a noble ensample we may | see in thactes of Romayns / as of the two noble scipions Affri | can & Asyan / Actilius & many other / And amonge al other | the noble Catho auctor and maker of this book / whiche he hath | lefte for to remayne euer to all the peple for to lerne in hit and | to knowe how euery man ought to rewle and gouerne hym | in this lyf / as wel for the lyf temporall / as for the lyf spyrytu | el / And as in my Jugement it is the beste book for to be ta- | ught to yonge children in scole / & also to peple of euery age | it is ful conuenient yf it be wel understanden / And by cause | J see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte || encreace / and prouffyte not lyke theyr faders and olders / but | for the moost parte after that they ben comen to theyr parfight | yeres of discrecion / and rypenes of age / how wel that theyre | faders haue lefte to them grete quantite of goodes / yet scarce- | ly amonge ten two thryue / J haue sene and knowen in other | londes in dyuerse cytees / that of one name and lygnage

Begin *verso* of sig. ij.

Caton.

suc- | cessyuely haue endured prosperously many heyres / ye a v or | vj honderd yere / and somme a thousand / And in this no- | ble cyte of london / it can vnnethe contynue vnto the thyrd heyr | or scarcely to the second / O blessyd lord whanne J remembre | this J am al abasshyd / J can not Juge the cause / but fayrer | ne wyser ne bet bespoken children in theyre yongthe ben now- | her than ther ben in london / but at their ful rypyng ther is no | carnel ne good corn founden but chaff for the moost parte / J | wote wel there be many noble and wyse / and proue wel & | ben better and rycher than euer were theyr faders / And to | thende that many myght come to honoure and worshyppe / J | entende to translate this sayd book of cathon / in whiche J do- | ubte not / and yf they wylle rede it and vnderstande they shal | moche the better conne rewle them self ther by / For among all | other bookes this is a synguler book / and may well be callyd | the Regyment or gouernaunce of the body and sowle | There was a noble clerke named pogius of Florence / And | was secretary to pope Eugenye / & also to pope Nycholas whi- | che had in the cyte of Florence a noble & well stuffed lybra- | rye / whiche alle noble straungyers comynge to Florence desy- | red to see / And therin they fonde many noble and rare bookes | And whanne they had axyd of hym whiche was the best bo- | ke of them alle / and that he reputed for best / He sayd / that he | helde Cathon glosed for the best book of his lyberarye / Thenne | syth that he that was so noble a Clerke helde this book for the | best / doubtles / hit must folowe that this is a noble booke / and | a vertuous / and suche one that a man may eschewe alle vyces | and ensiewe vertue / Thenne to thende that this sayd book may | prouffyte vnto the herars of it / J byseche Almyghty god that | J may acheue and accomplysshe it vnto his laude and glorye | And to therudicion and lernynge of them that ben ygnoraūt | that they maye there by prouffyte and be the better / And J || requyre and byseche alle suche that fynde faute or errour / that | of theyr charyte they correcte and amende hit / And J shalle | hertely praye for them to Almyghty god / that he rewarde | them

Begin *recto* of sig. iij.

British Museum. Press Mark C 21. d.

KNIGHT OF THE TOWER.

Prologue.

Begin *recto* of 1st leaf, unsigned.

a Lle vertuouse doctryne & techynge had & lerned of suche | as haue endeuoured them to leue for a remembraunce | after theyr dethe to vs / by whiche we ben enfourmed | in scyence / wysedom and vnderstandyng of knowleche / hou we | ought to rewle our self in this present lyf haue caused vs to | know many good reules / & vertuouse maners to be

Knight of the Tower.

gouerned | by / Emonge al other this book is a special doctryne & techyng | by which al yong gentyl wymen specially may lerne to biha- | ue them self vertuously / as wel in their vyrgynyte as in their | wedlok & wedowhede / as al along shal be more playnly said in | the same / which boke is comen to my handes by the request & de|syre of a noble lady which hath brouȝt forth many noble & fa- | yr douȝters which ben vertuously nourisshed & lerned / And for | very ziele & loue that she hath alway had to her fayr children | & yet hath for to haue more knouleche in vertue to thēde yᵗ they | may alwey perseuere in yᵉ same hath desired & required me to trās | late & reduce this said book out of frenssh in to our vulgar en | glissh / to thēde that it may the better be vnderstōde of al suche as | shal rede or here it / wherfor atte cōtemplacion of her good grace | after the lytel connyng that god hath sent me / I haue endeuoy | ryd me to obeye her noble desyre & request / In whiche werk I | fynd many vertuous good enseygnementis & lernynges by euy | dent histories of auctorite & good ensāples for al maner peple | in generally / but in especial for ladyes & gentilwymen douȝters | to lordes & gentilmen / For whiche book al the gentilwymen | now lyuyng & herafter to come or shal be arn bounde to gyue | laude praysyng & thankynges to the auctor of this book & also | to the lady that caused me to trāslate it & to pray for her long | lyf & welfare / & when god wil calle her fro this transitory lyf | that she may regne in heuen sempiternally where as is Joye & | blysse without ende / Thēne for as moche as this book is neces | sary to euery gentilwoman of what estate she be I aduyse eue | ry gentilman or woman hauyng such children / desyryng them | to be vertuously brouȝt forth to gete & haue this book to thende | that they may lerne / hou they ouȝt to gouerne them vertuously | in this present lyf / by whiche they may the better & hastlyer co | me to worship and good renommee / And J desyre all them | that shall lerne or see ony thynge in this sayd book / by whiche | they shal ben the wyser & better / that they gyue laude & thākyng || to the sayd ladyes good grace / and also to praye for her / And | wher as ony defaulte shalle be founde in the reducynge and | translatynge in to our Englysshe tongue / that it be arrettid to | me whiche am Jgnoraunt and not expert in the werke thouȝ | so be that J haue emprysed here to fore to smattre me in suche | translacions whiche J confesse and knowleche me ignoraunt | and therin to be Jmperfect / wherfore J humbly requyre and | byseche my sayd good lady to pardonne me of my symple and | rude reducynge / And yf ony thynge be sayd or made vnto her | playsyre / than J thynke my labour wel employed / whome I | humbly byseche to receyue this lytel book in gree & thanke / & | J shalle pray to almyghty god for her longe and good lyf / | and to send to her

Begin *verso* of 1st leaf.

Knight of the Tower.

after this shorte and transytory lyf euer- | lastyng lyf in heuen Amen / And alle other that be vnderstan | dyng & fyndyng ony defaute / I requyre & pray them of theyre | charyte to correcte and amende hit | and so doyng they shal de- | serue thanke and meryte of god / to whome J shalle pray for | them /

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. c. 17.

Recto of sig. s 6, line 25.

ÆSOP.

Epilogue.

Now thenne J wylle fynysshe alle these fables wyth | this tale that foloweth whiche a worshipful preest and | a parsone told me late / he sayd / that there were duel- | lynge in Oxenford two prestes bothe maystres of are / of who | me that one was quyck and coude putte hym self forth / And | that other was a good symple preest / And soo it happed that | the mayster that was perte and quyck was anone promoted | to a benefyce or tweyne / and after to prebendys / and for to be | a Dene of a grete prynces chappel / supposynge and wenynge | that his felaw the symple preest shold neuer haue be promoted | but be alwey an Annuel / or at the most a parysshe preest / So | after longe tyme that this worshipful man this dene came ry- | dynge in to a good paryssh with a x or xij horses / lyke a pre- | late / and came in to the chirche of the sayd parysshe / and fond || there this good symple man somtyme his felawe / whiche cam | and welcomed hym lowely / And that other hadde hym good | morowe mayster Johan / and toke hym sleyghtly by the hand | and axyd hym where he dwellyd / And the good man sayd / | in this paryssh /how sayd he / are ye here a sowle preest or a pa -| ryssh preste / nay syr said he / for lack of a better though I be not | able ne worthy J am parson and curate of this parysshe / and | thenne that other aualed his bonet and said mayster parson I | praye yow to be not displeasyd / J had supposed ye had not | be benefyced / But mayster sayd he / J pray yow what is this | benefyce worth to yow a yere / Forsothe sayd the good symple | man / I wote neuer / for I make neuer accomptes therof / how | wel J haue had hit four or fyue yere / And knowe ye not sa | id he what it is worth / it shold seme a good benefyce / No for- | sothe sayd he / but J wote wel what it shalle be worth to me / | Why sayd he / what shalle hit be worth / Forsothe sayd he / yf J | doo my trewe dylygēce in the cure of my parysshēs in prechyng | and techynge / and doo my parte longynge to my cure / I shalle | haue heuen therfore / And yf theyre sowles ben lost or ony of | them by my defawte / J shall be punysshed therfore / And herof | am J sure / And with that word the ryche dene was abasshed | And thought he shold do the better / and take more hede to his | cures and benefyces than he

Begin *verso* of sig. s 6.

had done / This was a good an- | swere of a good preest and an honest / And here with J fy- | nysshe this book / translated & emprynted by me William Cax- | ton at westmynstre in thabbey / And fynysshed the xxvj daye | of Marche the yere of oure lord M CCCC lxxxiiij / And the | fyrst yere of the regne of kyng Rychard the thyrdde |

Æsop.

CANTERBURY TALES. Second Edition.

Prohemye.

British Museum. Press Mark Gr. 11586.

Begin *recto* of sig. a ij. the 1st leaf being blank.

g

Rete thankes lawde and honour / ought to be gy- | uen vnto the clerkes / poetes / and historiographs | that haue wreton many noble bokes of wysedom | of the lyues / passiōs / & myracles of holy sayntes | of hystoryes/ of noble and famous Actes / and | faittes / And of the cronycles sith the begynnyng | of the creacion of the world / vnto thys present tyme / by whyche | we ben dayly enformed / and haue knowleche of many thynges / | of whom we shold not haue knowen / yf they had not left to vs | theyr monumentis wreton / Emong whom and inespecial to fore | alle other we ought to gyue a synguler laude vnto that noble & | grete philosopher Gefferey chaucer the whiche for his ornate wry- | tyng in our tongue maye wel haue the name of a laureate poe- | te / For to fore that he by hys labour enbelysshyd / ornated / and | made faire our englisshe / in thys Royame was had rude speche & | Incongrue / as yet it appiereth by olde bookes / whyche at thys day | ought not to haue place ne be compared emōg ne to hys beaute- | uous volumes / and aournate writynges / of whom he made ma- | ny bokes and treatyces of many a noble historye as wel in me- | tre as in ryme and prose / and them so craftyly made / that he cō- | prehended hys maters in short / quyck and hye sentences / es- | chewyng prolyxyte / castyng away the chaf of superfluyte / and | shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence / vtteryd by crafty and su- | gred eloquence / of whom emong all other of hys bokes / I pur- | pose temprynte by the grace of god the book of the tales of cauntyrburye / in whiche I fynde many a noble hystorye/ of euery asta | te and degre / Fyrst rehercyng the condiciōs / and tharraye of eche | of them as properly as possyble is to be sayd / And after theyr | tales whyche ben of noblesse / wysedom / gentylesse /Myrthe / and | also of veray holynesse and vertue / wherin he fynysshyth thys | sayd booke / whyche book I haue dylygently ouersen and duly | examyned to thende that it be made acordyng vnto his owen ma | kyng / For I fynde many of the sayd bookes / whyche wry- | ters haue abrydgyd it and many thynges left out / And

Canterbury Tales. 2nd edition.

Begin *verso* of sig. a ij.

in | som̃e place haue sette certayn versys / that he neuer made ne sette | in hys booke /of whyche bookes so incorrecte was one brought to | me vj yere passyd / whyche I supposed had ben veray true & cor- | recte / And accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn || nombre of them / whyche anon were sold to many and dyuerse | gentyl men / of whome one gentylman cam to me / and said that | this book was not accordyng in many places vnto the book that | Gefferey chaucer had made / To whom I answerd that I had ma- | de it accordyng to my copye/ and by me was nothyng added ne | mynusshyd / Thenne he sayd he knewe a book whyche hys fader | had and moche louyd / that was very trewe / and accordyng vn- | to hys owen first book by hym made / and sayd more yf I wold | enprynte it agayn he wold gete me the same book for a copye / | how be it he wyst wel / that hys fader wold not gladly departe | fro it / To whom I said / in caas that he coude gete me suche a book | trewe and correcte / yet I wold ones endeuoyre me to enprynte it | agayn / for to satysfye thauctor/ where as to fore by ygnouraũce | I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his book in dyuerce places | in settyng in som̃e thynges that he neuer sayd ne made / and le- | uyng out many thynges that he made whyche ben requysite to be | sette in it / And thus we fyll at accord / And he ful gentylly | gate of hys fader the said book/ and delyuerd it to me / by whiche | I haue corrected my book / as here after alle alonge by thayde of | almyghty god shal folowe / whom I humbly beseche to gýue me | grace and ayde to achyeue / and accomplysshe / to hys lawde ho- | nour and glorye / and that alle ye that shal in thys book rede or | heere / wyll of your charyte emong your dedes of mercy / remem- | bre the sowle of the sayd Gefferey chaucer first auctour/ and ma | ker of thys book / And also that alle we that shal see and rede | therin / may so take and vnderstõde the good and vertuous ta- | les / that it may so prouffyte / vnto the helthe of our sowles / that | after thys short and transitorye lyf we may come to euerlastyng | lyf in heuen / Amen

By Wylliam Caxton

British Museum. Press Mark C. 11. a. 19.

Recto of sig. a ij, line 5, the 1st leaf blank.

ORDER OF CHIVALRY.

PROLOGUE.

UNto the praysynge and dyuyne | glorye of god / whiche is lord and | souerayne kynge aboue and ouer | alle thynges celestyal / and worldly / We | begynne this book of the ordre of chyualry | For to shewe that to the sygnefyaunce of | god the prynce almyghty whiche seygno- | ryeth aboue the seuen planettes / that ma- | ke the cours celestyal /and haue power & | seygnorye

Order of Chivalry.

in gouernynge & ordeynynge | the bodyes terrestre and erthely / that in | lyke wyse owen the kynges prynces and | grete lordes to haue puyssaunce and seyg- | norye vpon the knyghtes / And the knyȝ | tes by symylytude oughten to haue po- | wer and dominacion ouer the moyen peple | And this booke conteyneth viij chapitres |

EPILOGUE.

Recto of sig. g j, line 19.

❡ Here endeth the book of thordre of chy | ualry / whiche book is translated oute of | Frensshe in to Englysshe at a requeste of | a gentyl and noble esquyer by me Will- | iam Caxton dwellynge in Westmynstre || besyde london in the most best wyse that god | hath suffred me / and accordynge to the co | pye that the sayd squyer delyuerd to me / | whiche book is not requysyte to euery co- | myn man to haue / but to noble gentylmen | that by their vertu entende to come & entre | in to the noble ordre of chyualry / the whi- | che in these late dayes hath ben vsed accor- | dyng to this booke here to fore wreton but | forgeten / and thexcersytees of chyualry / | not vsed / honoured / ne excercysed / as hit | hath ben in auncyent tyme / at whiche ty- | me the noble actes of the knyghtes of En | glond that vsed chyualry were renomed | thurgh the vnyuersal world / as for to spe | ke to fore thyncarnacion of Jhesu Cryste / | where were there euer ony lyke to brenius | and belynus that from the grete Bryta- | yne now called Englond vnto Rome & | ferre beyonde conquered many Royammes | and londes / whos noble actes remayne in | thold hystoryes of the Romayns / And | syth the Jncarnacion of oure lord / byhold | that noble kyng of Brytayne kyng Ar- | thur with al the noble knyȝtes ofthe roūd | table / whos noble actes & noble chyualry || of his knyghtes / occupye soo many large | volumes / that is a world / or as thyng in- | credyble to byleue / O ye knyghtes of En- | glond where is the custume and vsage of | noble chyualry that was vsed in tho da- | yes / what do ye now / but go to the baynes | & playe atte dyse And some not wel ad- | uysed vse not honest and good rule ageyn | alle ordre of knyghthode / leue this / leue it | and rede the noble volumes of saynt graal | of

Begin *verso*.

Begin *recto* of sig. g ij.

LE LIURE DE L'ORDRE DE CHIUALLERIE.

PROLOGUE.

British Museum. Reg. MS. 14 B ii.

A la loenge et gloire de la pourueance diuine dieu quy est sire et roy souuerain par dessu toutes choses celestes et terrestes nous commencons ce liure de lordre de cheuallerie pour demonstrer q) a la signifiance de dieu le prince tout puissant quy seignourist sur les . vij . planettes qui sont cours celestiaulz et ont pouoir et seignourie en gouuerner et ordonner les corps terrestres / Pareillement doiuent les roix et princes auoir puissance et seignourie sur les cheualliers Et les cheualliers par similitude doiuent auoir domination et pouoir sur le menu peuple / et contiēt ce liure . viij. chapitres /

Order of Chivalry.

lancelot / of galaad / of Trystram / of per | se forest / of percyual / of gawayn/
& many | mo / Ther shalle ye see manhode / curtosye & | gentylnesse / And loke
in latter dayes of | the noble actes syth the cōquest / as in kyng | Rychard dayes
cuer du lyon / Edward | the fyrste / and the thyrd / and his noble | sones / Syre
Robert knolles / syr Johan | hawkwode / Syr Johan chaūdos / & Syre | gaultier
Manuy rede froissart/ And also | behold that vyctoryous and noble kynge |
harry the fyfthe /and the capytayns vnder | hym his noble bretheren / Therle of
Salys- | bury Montagu / and many other whoos | names shyne gloryously by
Begin *verso* of sig. g ij. their vertuous | noblesse & actes that they did in thonour of || thordre of
chyualry / Allas what doo ye / | but slepe & take ease / and ar al disordred | fro
chyualry / J wold demaunde a questi- | on yf J shold not displease / how many |
knyghtes ben ther now in Englond / that | haue thuse and thexcercyse of
a knyghte / | that is to wete / that he knoweth his hors / | & his hors hym / that
is to saye / he beynge | redy at a poynt to haue al thyng that lon- | geth to
a knyght / an hors that is accor- | dyng and broken after his hand / his ar- |
mures and harnoys mete and syttyng / & | so forth / et cetera / J suppose and
a due ser- | che shold be made / ther shold be many fo- | unden that lacke / the
more pyte is/ I wold | it pleasyd oure souerayne lord that twy- | es or thryes in
a yere / or at the lest ones | he wold do crye Justes of pees / to thende | that
euery knyght shold haue hors and | harneys / and also the vse and craft of
a | knyght / and also to tornoye one ageynste | one / or ij ageynst ij / And the
best to haue | a prys / a dyamond or Jewel / suche as | shold please the prynce /
This shold cause | gentylmen to resorte to thauncyent custō- | mes of chyualry
Begin *recto* of sig. g 3. to grete fame and renō- || mee / And also to be alwey redy to serue / | theyr
prynce whan he shalle calle them / or | haue nede / Thenne late euery man
that is | come of noble blood and entendeth to come | to the noble ordre of
chyualry / rede this ly | tyl book / and doo therafter / in kepyng the | lore and
commaundements therin compry- | sed / And thenne J doubte not he shall at- |
teyne to thordre of chyualry / et cetera / | And thus thys lytyl book J presente
to | my redoubted naturel and most dradde so- | uerayne lord kyng Rychard
kyng of En- | glond and of Fraunce / to thende / that he | commaunde this book to
be had and redde | vnto other yong lordes knyghtes and gen | tylmen within
this royame /that the noble | ordre of chyualrye be herafter better vsed & |
honoured that hit hath ben in late dayes | passed / And herin he shalle do
a noble & | vertuouse dede/ And J shalle pray almyȝ- | ty god for his long lyf
& prosperous wel- | fare / & that he may haue victory of al his | enemyes / and
after this short & transitory | lyf to haue euerlastyng lyf in heuen / whe- | re
as is Joye and blysse world without | ende Amen /

THE CURIAL.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b. 17.

PROLOGUE.

Begin *recto* of sig. j.

Here foloweth the copye of a lettre whyche maistre Alayn | Charetier wrote to hys brother/ whyche desired to come dwelle in | Court / in whyche he reherseth many myseryes & wretchydnesses | therin vsed / For taduyse hym not to entre in to it / leste he af- | ter repente / like as hier after folowe / and late translated out of | frenshe in to englysshe / whyche Copye was delyuerid to me by a | noble and vertuous Erle / At whos Instance & requeste I haue | reduced it in to Englyssh.

KING ARTHUR.

Osterley Library.

PROLOGUE.

Begin *recto* of sig. ij, the 1st leaf blank.

AFter that I had accomplysshed and fynysshed dyuers | hystoryes as wel of contemplacyon as of other hysto | ryal and worldly actes of grete conquerours & pryn | ces / And also certeyn bookes of ensaumples and doctryne/ | Many noble and dyuers gentylmen of thys royame of Eng- | lond camen and demaunded me many and oftymes / wherfore | that I haue not do made & enprynte the noble hystorye of the | saynt greal / and of the moost renomed crysten Kyng / Fyrst | and chyef of the thre best crysten and worthy / kyng Arthur / | whyche ought moost to be remembred emonge vs englysshe | men tofore al other crysten kynges / For it is notoyrly knowen | thorugh the vnyuersal world / that there been ix worthy & the | best that euer were / That is to wete thre paynyms / thre Jewes | and thre crysten men / As for the paynyms they were tofore the | Jncarnacyon of Cryst / whiche were named / the fyrst Hector | of Troye / of whome thystorye is comen bothe in balade and in | prose / The second Alysaunder the grete / & the thyrd Julyus | Cezar Emperour of Rome of whome thystoryes ben wel kno | and had / And as for the thre Jewes whyche also were tofore | thyncarnacyon of our lord of whome the fyrst was Duc Jo- | sue whyche brought the chyldren of Israhel in to the londe of | byheste / The second Dauyd kyng of Jherusalem / & the thyrd | Judas Machabeus of these thre the byble reherceth al theyr no- | ble hystoryes & actes / And sythe the sayd Jncarnacyon haue | ben thre noble crysten men stalled and admytted thorugh the | vnyuersal world in to the nombre of the ix beste & worthy / of | whome was fyrst the noble Arthur /

King Arthur.

Begin *verso* of sig. ij.

whos noble actes I pur- | pose to wryte in thys present book here folowyng / The second | was Charlemayn or Charles the grete / of whome thystorye is | had in many places bothe in frensshe and englysshe / and the | thyrd and last was Godefray of boloyn / of whos Actes & lyf | I made a book vnto thexcellent prynce and kyng of noble me | morye kynge Edward the fourth / the sayd noble Jentylmen | Jnstantly requyred me temprynte thystorye of the sayd noble | kyng and conquerour kyng Arthur / and of his knyghtes | wyth thystorye of the saynt greal / and of the deth and endyng | of the sayd Arthur / Affermyng that I ouȝt rather tenprynte | his actes and noble feates / than of godefroye of boloyne / or || ony of the other eyght / consyderyng that he was a man borne | wythin this royame and kyng and Emperour of the same / | And that there ben in frensshe dyuers and many noble volu- | mes of his actes / and also of his knyghtes / To whome J | answerd / that dyuers men holde oppynyon / that there was | no suche Arthur / and that alle suche bookes as been maad of | hym / ben but fayned and fables / by cause that somme crony- | cles make of hym no mencyon ne remembre hym noo thynge | ne of his knyghtes / wher to they answerd / and one in specyal | sayd / that in hym that shold say or thynke / that there was ne | uer suche a kyng callyd Arthur / myght wel be aretted grete | folye and blyndenesse / For he sayd that there were many euy | dences of the contrarye / Fyrst ye may see his sepulture in the monasterye of Glastyugburye / And also in polycronycon in | the v book the syxte chappytre / and in the seuenth book the xxiij chappytre / where his body was buryed and after foun | den and translated in to the sayd monasterye / ye shall se also | in thystorye of bochas in his book de casu principum / parte of | his noble actes / and also of his falle / Also galfrydus in | his brutysshe book recounteth his lyf / and in dyuers places | of Englond / many remembraunces ben yet of hym and shall | remayne perpetuelly / and also of his knyghtes / Fyrst in the abbey of westmestre at saynt Edwardes shryne remayneth the | prynte of his seal in reed waxe closed in beryll / Jn whych is | wryton Patricius Arthurus / Britannie / Gallie / Germanie / | dacie / Jmperator / Item in the castel of douer ye may see Gau- | wayns skulle / & Cradoks mantel. At wynchester the ronnde | table / in other places Launcelottes swerde and many other | thynges / Thenne al these thynges consydered there can no man | resonably gaynsaye butt here was a kyng of thys lande na- | med Arthur / For in al places crysten and hethen he is re- | puted and taken for one of the ix worthy / And the fyrst of | the thre Crysten men / And also he is more spoken of beyonde | the see moo boookes made of his noble actes than there be in | englond as wel in duche ytalyen spanysshe and grekysshe as | in frensshe / And yet of record remayne in

King Arthur.

Begin *recto* of sig. iij.

wytnesse of hym in | wales in the toune of Camelot the grete stones & meruayl- | lous werkys of yron lyeng vnder the grounde & ryal vautes || which dyuers now lyuyng hath seen / wherfor it is a meruayl | why he is nomore renomed in his owne contreye / sauf onelye | it accordeth to the word of god / whyche sayth that no man is | accept for a prophete in his owne contreye / Thēne al these thyn | ges forsayd aledged J coude not wel denye / but that there was | suche a noble kyng named arthur / and reputed one of the ix worthy / & fyrst & chyef of the crysten men / & many noble volu- | mes be made of hym & of his noble knyȝtes in frensshe which | I haue seen & redde beyonde the see / which been not had in our | maternal tongue / but in walsshe ben many & also in frensshe / | & somme in englysshe but nowher nygh alle / wherfore suche as | haue late ben drawen oute bryefly in to englysshe / I haue after | the symple connynge that god hath sente to me / vnder the | fauour and correctyon of al noble lordes and gentylmen en- | prysed to enprynte a book of the noble hystoryes of the sayd | kynge Arthur / and of certeyn of his knyghtes after a copye | vnto me delyuerd / whyche copye Syr Thomas Malorye dyd | take oute of certayn bookes of frensshe and reduced it in to | Englysshe / And I accordyng to my copye haue doon sette it | in enprynte / to the entente that noble men may see and lerne | the noble actes of chiualrye / the Jentyl and vertuous dedes | that somme knyghtes vsed in tho dayes / by whyche they came | to honour / and how they that were vycious were punysshed | and ofte put to shame and rebuke / humbly besechyng al no | ble lordes and ladyes and al other estates of what estate | or degre they been of / that shal see and rede in this sayd book | and werke / that they take the good and honest actes in their remembraunce / and to folowe the same / wherin they shalle | fynde many joyous and playsaunt hystoryes / and noble & | renomed actes of humanyte / gentylnesse and chyualryes / | For herein may be seen noble chiualrye / Curtosye / Humanyte | frendlynesse / hardynesse / loue / frendshypp / Cowardyse / Mur- | dre / hate / vertue / and synne / Doo after the good and leue | the euyll / and it shal brynge you to good fame and renom- | mee / And for to passe the tyme thys boook shal be plesaunte | to rede in / but for to gyue fayth and beleue that al is trewe | that is conteyned herin / ye be at your liberte but al is wry- | ton for our doctryne / and for to beware that we falle not to || vyce ne synne / but texcersyse and folowe vertu / by whyche we | may come and atteyne to good fame and renomme in thys | lyf / and after thys shorte and transytorye lyf to come vnto | euerlastyng blysse in heuen / the whyche he graunte vs that | reygneth in heuen the blessyd Trynyte Amen /

Begin *verso*.

King Arthur.

THenne to procede forth in thys sayd book / whyche J | dyrecte vnto alle noble prynces / lordes and ladyes / | gentylmen or gentylwymmen that desyre to rede or here | redde of the noble and Joyous hystorye of the grete conque- | rour and excellent kyng .Kyng Arthur / sometyme kyng of | thys noble royalme / thenne callyd brytaygne / J wyllyam Caxton symple persone present thys book folowyng / whyche J | haue enprysed tenprynte / And treateth of the noble actes / fe- | ates of armes of chyualrye / prowesse / hardynesse / humanyte | loue / curtosye / and veray gentylnesse / wyth many wonder- | ful hystoryes and aduentures / And for to vnderstonde bry | efly the contente of thys volume / I haue deuyded it in to xxj bookes / and euery book chapytred as here after shal by god- | des grace folowe / The fyrst book shal treate how Vther pen- | dragon gate the noble conquerour kyng Arthur and contey- | neth xxviij chappytres / The second book treateth of Balyn | the noble knyght and conteyneth xix chapytres / The thyrd | book treateth of the maryage of kyng Arthnr to quene gue- | neuer wyth other maters and conteyneth fyftene chappytres | The fourth book how Merlyn was assotted / and of warre | maad to kyng Arthur / and conteyneth xxix chappytres / | The fyfthe book treateth of the conqueste of Lucius themperour | and conteyneth xij chappytres / The syxthe book treateth of | Syr Launcelot and syr Lyonel and meruayllous aduentu- | res and conteyneth xviij chapytres / The seuenth book treateth of a noble knyght called syr Gareth and named by syr kaye | Beaumayns and conteyneth xxxvj chapytres / The eyght | book treateth of the byrthe of Syr Trystram the noble knyght | and of hys actes / and conteyneth xlj chapytres / | The ix book treateth of a knyght named by Syr kaye le cote | male taylle and also of Syr Trystram and conteyneth xliiij | chapytres / The x book treateth of syr Trystram & other mer- | uayllous aduentures and conteyneth lxxxiij chappytres / || The xj book treateth of syr Launcelot and syr Galahad and | conteyneth xiiij chappytres / The xij book treateth of syr Laun | celot and his madnesse and conteyneth xiiij chapytres / The | xiij book treateth how galahad came fyrst to kyng Arthurs | courte and the quest how the sangreall was begonne and con | teyneth xx Chappytres / The xiiij boook treateth of the queste | of the sangreal & conteyneth x chappytres / The xv book treateth | of syr launcelot & conteyneth vj chappytres / The xvj book trea- | teth of Syr Bors & syr Lyonel his brother and conteyneth | xvij chapytres / The xvij book treateth of the sangreal and | conteyneth xxiij chappytres / The xviij book treateth of Syr Launcelot and the quene and conteyneth xxv chappytres / The | xix book treateth of quene Gueneuer and Launcelot and con | teyneth xiij chapytres / The xx book treateth of the

Begin *recto* of sig. iiij.

King Arthur.

pyetous | deth of Arthur and conteyneth xxij chapytres / The xxj book | treateth of his last departyng / and how syr Launcelot came | to reuenge his dethe and conteyneth xiij chapytres / The somme | is xxj bookes whyche conteyne the somme of v hondred & vij | chapytres / as more playnly shal folowe herafter /

CHARLES THE GREAT.

Prologue.

British Museum. Press Mark C. 10. b 9.

Begin *recto* of sig. a ij, 1st column; the 1st leaf blank.

SAynt Poul doctour of | veryte sayth to us that | al thynges that ben re- | duced by wrytyng / ben wryton | to our doctryne / And Boece | maketh mencion that the helthe | of euery persone procedeth dy- | uercely / Thenne sythe it is soo | that the cristen feyth is affermed | and corrobered by the doctours | of holy chyrche / Neuertheles the | thynges passed dyuersly redu- | ced to remembraunce / engendre | in vs correctiō of vnlauful lyf | For the werkes of the auncient | and olde peple ben for to gyue | to vs ensaūple to lyue in good | & vertuous operacions digne & | worthy of helth in folowyng the | good / and eschewyng the euyl | And also in recountyng of hye | hystoryes / the comune vnderston | dyng is better content to the y- | magynacion local than to sym- | ple auctoryte / to which it is sub | mysed / J saye this gladly / For | oftymes J haue been excyted of | the venerable man messire henry | bolomyer chanōne of lausāne for | to reduce for his playsyr somme | hystoryes as wel in latyn & in | romaūce as in other facion wry | ton / that is to say of the ryght | puyssaunt / vertuous / and noble | charles the grete / kyng of frañce | and emperour of Rome / Sone | of the grete Pepyn / And of his | prynces & barons / As Rolland | Olyuer / and other / touchyng || somme werkes haultayne doon | & cōmysed by their grete strength | & ryght ardaunt courage / to the | exaltacyon of the crysten fayth | and to the confusyon of the he- | then sarazyns and myscreaunts | whiche is a werk wel contem- | platyf for to lyue wel / And by | cause the sayd henry Bolomyer | hath seen of thys mater / and the | hystoryes dysioyned wythoute | ordre / therfore at his request af- | ter the capacyte of my lytel en- | tendement / And after thystoryes | and mater that I haue founden | I haue ordeyned this book folo- | wyng / And it myght soo haue | ben that yf I had ben more lar- | gely enformed and al playn I | had letter made it / For J haue | not sayd ony matere / but I haue | therof ben enformed / Fyrst by | an autentyke book named myr- | rour hystoryal / as by the canō- | nes and somme other bookes | whiche make mencyon of the | werke folowyng / And by cause | I may haue a lytel parte of ho- | nourable foūdemēt I shal touche | of the first cristen kyng

Begin 2nd column.

Charles the Great.

Begin *verso* of sig. a ij, 1st column.

of fraũce | For the moste parte of this book | is made to thonour of the frẽssh | men / and for prouffyte of euery | man / and after the desyre of the | redar and herer / there shalle be | founden in the table all playne | the mater of whyche the persone|shal haue desyre to here or rede / |wythoute grete atedyacyon / by|| the playsyr of god to whome I | submytte al' myn entẽte to write | no thyng that ought to be bla- | med / ne but that it be to the hel- | the & sauacion of euery persone / |

THenne for as moche J | late had fynysshed in | enprynte the book of the noble & | vyctoryous kyng Arthur fyrst | of the thre moost noble & wor- | thy of crysten kynges / and also | tofore had reduced in to englisshe | the noble hystorye & lyf of Go- | defroy of boloyn kyng of Iheru- | salem / last of the said iij worthy | Somme persones of noble estate | and degree haue desyred me to | reduce thystorye and lyf of the | noble and crysten prynce Char- | les the grete kyng of frauuce & | emperour of Rome / the second | of the thre worthy / to thende that | thystoryes / actes / & lyues may | be had in onr maternal tongue | lyke as they be in latyn or in | frensshe / For the moost quanty- |te of the people vnderstonde not | latyn ne frensshe here in this no | ble royame of englond / And for | to satysfye the desyre & requeste | of my good synguler lordes & | specyal maysters and frendes | I haue enprysed and concluded | in my self to reduce this sayd | book in to our englysshe / as all | alonge and playnely ye may | rede / here / and see in thys book||here folowyng / besechyng al them | that shal fynde faute in the same | to correcte and amende it / And | also to pardone me of the rude & | symple reducyng / and though | so be there be no gaye termes / ne | subtyl ne newe eloquence / yet J | hope that it shal be vnderstonden | & to that entente I haue specy- | ally reduced it / after the sym- | ple connyng that god hath lente | to me / wherof I humbly & wyth | al my herte thanke hym / & also | am bounden to praye for my fa- | der and moders soules / that in | my youthe sette me to scole / by | whyche by the suffraunce of god | I gete my lyuyng I hope truly | And that I may so do & conty- |nue I byseche hym to graũte me | of his grace / and so to laboure | and occupye my self vertuously | that I may come out of dette & | dedely synne / that after this lyf | I may come to hys blysse in he- | uen AMEN /

Begin 2nd column.

The first portion of the above Prologue, in which "Henry Bolomyer, Canon of Lausane," is mentioned, was, in all probability, the Prologue to the French Romance which Caxton was translating. This, however, I am unable to verify, having been hitherto unsuccessful in my search for a French manuscript of the work.

EPILOGUE.

Charles the Great.

Verso of sig. m 7, 1st column, line 35.

¶ And by cause J Wylliam | Caxton was desyred & requyred | by a good and synguler frende | of myn / Maister wylliam dau-|| beney one of the tresorers of the | Iewellys of the noble & moost | crysten kyng / our naturel and | souerayn lord late of noble me- | morye kyng Edward the fourth | on whos soule Ihesu haue mercy | To reduce al these sayd hysto- | ryes in to our englysshe tongue | I haue put me in deuoyr to tran | slate thys sayd book as ye here | tofore may see al a longe and | pl yn / prayeng alle them that | shal rede / see or here it / to pardon | me of thys symple & rude tran- | s acyon and reducyng / byse- | chyng theym that shal fynde | faute to correcte it / & in so doyng | they shal deserue thankynges / & | I shal praye god for them / who | brynge them and me after this | short and transytorye lyf to e- | uerlastyng blysse Amen / the | whyche werke was fynysshed | in the reducyng of hit in to en- | glysshe the xviij day of Iuyn the | second yere of kyng Rychard | the thyrd / And the yere of our | lord M CCCC lxxxv / And | enprynted the fyrst day of de- | cembre the same yere of our lord | & the fyrst yere of kyng Harry | the seuenth /

¶ Explicit p william Caxton

GOOD MANNERS.

PROLOGUE.

Public Library, Cambridge. A. B. 10. 22.

Begin *recto* of sig. a i.

WHan I consydere the condycions & maners of the comyn | people whiche without enformacion & lernyng ben rude | and not manerd lyke vnto beestis brute acordyng to an olde | prouerbe . he that is not manerd is no man . for maners make | man . Thenne it is requesite and necessary that euery man vse | good & vertuous maners. And to thende that euery man shold | haue knowleche of good maners / An honest man / & a specyal | frende of myn a Mercer of london named wylliā praat which | late departed out of this lyf on whos soule god haue mercy / | not longe tofore his deth delyuerd to me in frenshe a lytel book | named the book of good maners whiche book is of auctoryte | for as moche as there is no thyng sayd therin but for the moost | parte it is aledged by scrypture of the byble . or ellis by sayeng | of holy payntes / doctours / philosophres . & poetes . and desyred | me Instantly to translate it in to englyssh our maternal tonge | to thende that it myght be had and vsed emonge the people for | thamendement of their maners . and to thencreace of vertuous | lyuyng . Thēne I at the request & desyre of hym whyche was | my synguler frende / and of olde knowlege haue put my self in | deuoyr for taccomplysshe his desyre/ & haue after the lytel con- | nyng that god hath lent me translated out of frenshe in

Good Manners.

to our | englyssh this sayd book of good maners . besechyng almyghty | god that it may prouffyte bothe the redars & herers therof / | For that is thentent of hym that was fyrst cause that brouȝt | the boke to my hande . aud also of me that haue accomplysshed | it . prayeng al them that shal rede & here it to correcte where as | they fynde faulte and to holde me excused of the rude & vnpar- | fyght englysh. And I beseche almyghty god that it so may | be vnderstonden that al they that shal rede or here it / that they | may the better lyue in this present lyf that after this lyf they & | I may come to the euerlastyng lyf in heuen where as is Ioye | and blysse perdnrable Amen .

ROYAL BOOK.

Prologue.

Public Library, Cambridge. Press Mark A. B. 10. 29.

Begin *recto* of sig. a ij. the 1st leaf being blank.

WHan J remembre and take hede of the conuersacion of | vs that lyue in this wretched lyf . in which is no surete | ne stable abydyng . And also the contynuel besynes of euery | man. how he is occupyed and dayly laboureth to bylde & ede- | fye as though theyr habytacion and dwellyng here / were per- | manent and shold euer endure . & also practyse how they may | gete temporalle possessyons .goodes and rychesses. of whyche | they are neuer contente ne satysfyed as for the moost partye . | but contynuelly entende and laboure by many subtyl meanes | how they may encreace theyr sayd possessyons and richesses for | to come and attayne to worldly honour and estate . In whiche | they wene be veray felycyte and blessydnes / and whan I haue | wel ouerseen & examyned these forsayd thynges and lyf . J | fynde nothyng in them but vanyte of vanytees and all vanyte | & yet I merueylle moche of them that ben lerned wyse & noble | men in the lawe . that not withstondyng their rychesses . & sure | lyuyng as wel in the spirituelte as in the temporalte contynu- | elly laboure to be enhaunced & promoted to hye dygnytees and | offyces .as though therin were perpetuel felycyte . Jn whyche | ye may see at eye that al is but vanyte . & they that mē repute | for wysest & gretest aboute prynces in a moment ben ouerthro | wen & brought to nought . Not withstondyng for the moost | parte . they of the spyrytuelte & also of the temporalte entende | more to gete. worldly honours .rychesses & possessyons for to | satisfye the appetyte of their inordynate desyre here in this tran | sytorye lyf / which anone & hastely shal departe fro the corrup- | tyble body . thā they do for theternal lyf which shal euer endure | in Ioye or in payne . Thēne to thende that euery man resona- | ble remēbre hym self that he is mortal . & shal withoute fayle | departe out of this lyf hastely & sone . & ought while he is here | lyuyng to

Royal Book.

Begin *verso* of sig. a ij.

purueye & ordeyne for the perpetuel lyf to come / & | so to lyue accordyng to the lawe & comandements of our lord | & ocupye hym self in vertuous operacyons and werkes . in || eschewyng al vices & synnes & al the braũches of thē . that they | may after this short & trāsytory lyf attayne & com to the euer | lastyng lyf in heuen / J purpose & attende by the suffraunce of | almyghty god to trāslate a book late delyuerd to me & reduce | it out of frensshe in to our comyn englysshe tonge . in whyche | euery man may be enformed how he ouȝt to kepe the lawe & | comaũdemēts of god . to folowe vertu & flee & eschewe vyces | & to pourueye & ordeyn for hym spyrituel rychesses in heuen | ꝑpetuel & permament / which book was made in frensshe atte | requeste of Phelip le bele kyng of fraũce in the yere of thyncar | nacion of our lord M CC lxxix . & reduced in to englisshe at | the request & specyal desyre of a synguler frende of myn a mer- | cer of lōdon the yere of our sayd lord / M . iiij C . lxxxiiij . which | book is entytled & named in frensshe . le lyure royal . whiche is | to say in englisshe · the ryal book . or a book for a kyng . in whi- | che book ben comprysed the x comandemēts of our lord . the xij | artycles of the fayth / the vij dedely synnes with their braũches | the vij petycions of the pater noster · the seuen yeftes of the holy | ghoost . the vij vertues and many other holy thynges & maters | good & prouffytable for the wele of mānes soule . Thenne J | exhorte & desyre euery mā that entendeth to the prouffyt & sal- | uacyon of his soule / to ouer see this sayd book / in whiche he | shal fynde good & prouffytable doctryne by which he may the | rather attayne to come to euerlastyng blysse · & alwaye what | that is wryton is vnder correctyon of lerned men / humbly be | sechyng them to correcte & amende where as is ony defaute . & | so doyng they shal doo a merytory dede . For as nyghe as god | hath gyuen me connyng I haue folowed the copye as nyghe | as I can . & I beseche almyghty god that this sayd werk may | prouffyte the redars . & that is the special cause that it is made | fore / that knoweth god to whome noo thyng is hyd / whyche | gyue vs grace so to lyue vertuously in this short lyf . that after | this lyf we may come to his euerlastyng blysse in heuen amē |

EPILOGUE.

Recto of sig. u 9, line 7.

THis book was compyled & made atte requeste of kyng | Phelyp of Fraunce in the yere of thyncarnacyon of our | lord / M . CC · lxxix . & translated or reduced out of frensshe in | to englysshe by me wyllyam Caxtou . atte requeste of a wor- | shipful marchaunt & mercer of london . whyche Instauntly re- | quyred me to reduce it for the wele of alle them that shal rede | or here it . as for a specyal book to knowe al vyces & braũches | of them . & also

Royal Book. al vertues by whyche wel vnderstonden & seen | may dyrecte a persone to euerlastyng blysse . whyche book is | callyd in frensshe . le liure Royal · that is to say the ryal book . or | a book for a kyng . For the holy scrypture calleth euery man a | kyng whiche wysely and parfytly can gouerne and dyrecte | hym self after vertu . & this book sheweth & enseygneth it so | subtylly . so shortly · so perceyuyngly & so parfyghtly . that for the | short comprehencion of the noble clergye & of the right grete sub | staũce . which is comprysed therin . Jt may & ought to be cal- | led wel by ryght and quycke reason aboue al other bookes in | frensshe or in englysshe . the book ryal or the book for a kyng . & | also by cause that it was made & ordeyned atte request of that | ryght noble kyng Phelyp le bele kynge of Frauce . ought it | to be called Ryall / as tofore is sayd . whiche translacion or re- | ducyng oute of frensshe in to englysshe was achyeued . fynys- | shed & accomplysshed the xiij day of Septembre in the yere of | thyncarnacyon of our lord . M / CCCC . lxxxiiij / And in the | second yere of the Regne of Kyng Rychard the thyrd /

FAYTS OF ARMS.

Epilogue.

British Museum. Press Mark Gr. 10546.

Recto of sig. S 5, line 6.

¶ Thus endeth this boke whiche xp̃yne of pyse made & dre | we out of the boke named vegecius de re militari & out of | tharbre of bataylles wyth many other thynges sett in to the | same requisite to werre & batailles whiche boke beyng in frẽ | she was delyuered to me willm Caxton by the most crysten | kynge & redoubted prynce my naturel & souerayn lord kyng | henry the / vij / kyng of englond & of fraũce in his palais of | westmestre the / xxiij / day of Ianyuere the / iiij / yere of his re | gne & desired & wylled me to translate this said boke & reduce | it in to our english & natural tonge / & to put it in enprynte | to thende that euery gentylman born to armes & all manere | men of werre captayns / souldiours / vytayllers & all other | shold haue knowlege how they ought to behaue theym in the | fayttes of warre & of bataylles / and so delyuered me the said | book thẽne my lord therle of Oxenford awaytĩg on his said | grace / whiche volume conteynyng four bokes / I receyued of | his said grace & accordĩg to his desire whiche to me I repute | a comandemẽt / & verili glad to obeye / & after the lityl cõnyng | that god hath lente me I haue endeuoyrd me to the vtterest | of my power to fulfylle & accõplisshe his desire & comaunde- | ment / as wel to reduce it in to englyshe / as to put it in enprĩ | te / to thende that it may come to the sight & knowlege of eue | ry gentylman

Fayts of Arms.

Begin *verso* of sig. S 5.

& man of warre/ & for certayn in myn oppiny | on it is as necessary a boke & as requysite / as ony may be for | euery estate hye & lowe that entende to the fayttes of werre || whether it be in bataylles sieges / rescowse / & all other fayttes | subtyltees & remedyes for meschieues / Whiche translacyon | was finysshed the / viij / day of Iuyll the sayd yere & enpryn | ted the / xiiij / day of Iuyll next folowyng & ful fynyshyd/ thē | ne syth I haue obeyed his most dredeful comaūdement / I hū | bly byseche his most exellent & bounteuous hyeues to pardo- | ne me of this symple & rude translacion where in be no cury | ous ne gaye termes of rethoryk / but I hope to almighti god | that it shal be entendyble & vnderstanden to euery man / & al | so that it shal not moche varye in sētence fro the copye recey | ued of my said souerayn lord / And where as I haue erryd | or made defaulte I beseche them that fynde suche to correcte it | & so dooyng I shal praye for them / & yf ther be ony thīg ther | in to his pleasir / I am glad & thinke my labour wel enplo- | yed for to haue the name to be one of the litel seruantes to the | hiest & most cristen kyng & prince of the world / whom I by | seche almyghty god to preserue / kepe / & contynue in his noble | & most redoubted enterpryses as wel in bretayn / flaūdres & | other placis that he may haue victorie honour / & renōmee to | his perpetual glorye / For I haue not herd ne redde that ony | prynce hath subdued his subgettis with lasse hurte &c̃ and | also holpen his neighbours & frendis out of this londe / In | whyche hye enterprises I byseche almyghty god that he may | remayne alleway vyctoryous / And dayly encreace fro veř | tu to vertue & fro better to better to his laude & honour in this | present lyf / that after thys short & transitorye lyf / he may at- | teyne to euer lastyng lyf in heuen/ Whiche god gaunte to | hym and to alle his lyege peple AMEN /

Per Caxton.

BLANCHARDINE AND EGLANTINE.

Prologue.

Spencer Library, Althorp.

Begin *recto* of sig. j.

UNto the right noble puyssaūt & excellēt pryncesse my redoubted lady my lady Margarete duchesse of Somercete / Moder vnto our naturel & souerayn lord and most Crysten kynge henry y^e seuenth by the grace of god kyng of englonde & of ffraūce lord of yrelonde &c̃. I wyllyam caxton his most Indygne humble subgette and lytil seruaūt presente this lytyl book vnto the noble grace of my sayd lady whiche boke I late receyued in frenshe from her good grace and her cōmaundement wyth alle / For to reduce & translate it in to our

Blanchardine and Eglantine.

maternal & englysh tonge / whiche boke I had longe to fore solde to my sayd lady and knewe wel that the storye of hit was honeste & Joyefull to all vertuouse yong noble gentylmen & wymmē for to rede therin as for their passe tyme for vnder correction in my Jugement / it is as requesyte other whyle to rede in Auncyent hystoryes of noble fayttes & valyaūt actes of armes & warre whiche haue ben achyeued in olde tyme of many noble prynces. lordes & knyghtes / as wel for to see & knowe their walyaūtnes for to stande in the specyal grace & loue of their ladyes And in lyke wyse for gentyl yonge ladyes & damoysellys for to lerne to be stedfaste & constaūt in their parte to theym that they ones haue promysed and agreed to suche as haue putte their lyues ofte in Jeopardye for to playse theym to stande in grace. As it is to occupye theym and studye ouer moche in bokes of contemplacion. Wherfore at thynstaūce and requeste of my sayd lady. whiche I repute as for a cōmaūdemente I haue reduced this sayd boke out of frenshe in to our englyshe: whiche boke specyfyeth of the noble actes and fayttes of warre achyeued by a noble and victorious prynce named Blanchardin sone vnto the kynge Fryse / for the loue of a noble pryncesse callyd Eglantyne other wyse named in frensche lorguylleuse damours whiche is as moche to saye in englyshe. as the proude lady of loue quene of tormaday: And of the grete aduentures. labours anguysshes / and many other grete dyseases of theym bothe to fore they myght atteyne for to come to the fynall conclusion of their desired loue / as a longe by the grace of god it shall be shewed in thistorye of thys present book / Bysechynge my sayd ladyes bountyuoꝰ grace to receyue this lityll boke in gree of me her humble seruaūt / and to pardoune me of the rude and comyn englyshe. where as shall be found faulte For I confesse me not lerned ne knowynge the arte of rethoryk / ne of suche gaye termes as now be sayd in these dayes and vsed: And that shall suffyse. ❡ Besechyng Allmyghty god to graunte to her mooste noble goode grace longe lyffe / and thaccomplysshement of hir hihe noble and Joyes desires in thys present lyff: ❡ And after this short and transytorye lyff. euerlastynge lyff in heuen Amen /

British Museum. Press Mark Gr. 9723.

Begin *recto* of sig. A j.

ENEYDOS.

Prologue.

After dyuerse werkes made / translated and achieued / ha | uyng noo werke in hande. I sittyng in my studye where as | laye many dyuerse paunflettis and bookys. happened that | to my hande cam a lytyl booke in frenshe. whiche late was | translated oute of latyn by some noble clerke of fraūce whi | che booke is

Eneydos.

named Eneydos / made in latyn by that noble | poete & grete clerke vyrgyle/ whiche booke I sawe ouer and | redde therin. How after the generall destruccyon of the gre | te Troye. Eneas departed berynge his olde fader anchises | vpon his sholdres / his lityl son yolus on his honde. his wy | fe wyth moche other people folowynge / and how he shypped | and departed wyth alle thystorye of his aduentures that he | had er he cam to the achieuement of his conquest of ytalye | as all a longe shall be shewed in this present boke. In whi- | che booke I had grete plasyr. by cause of the fayr and hone | st termes & wordes in frenshe / Whyche I neuer sawe to fo- | re lyke. ne none so playsaunt ne so wel ordred. whiche boo- | ke as me semed sholde be moche requysyte to noble men to see | as wel for the eloquence as the hystoryes/ How wel that | many honderd yerys passed was the sayd booke of eneydos | wyth other werkes made and lerned dayly in scolis specyal- | ly in ytalye & other places / whiche historye the sayd vyrgyle | made in metre / And whan I had aduysed me in this sayd bo | ke. I delybered and concluded to translate it in to englysshe | And forthwyth toke a penne & ynke and wrote a leef or | tweyne /whyche I ouersawe agayn to corecte it / And whā | I sawe the fayr & straunge termes therin / I doubted that it | sholde not please some gentylmen whiche late blamed me | sayeng yᵗ in my translacyons I had ouer curyous termes | whiche coude not be vnderstande of comyn peple / and desired | me to vse olde and homely termes in my translacyons. and || fayn wolde I satysfye euery man/ and so to doo toke an olde | boke and redde therin / and certaynly the englysshe was so ru | de andbrood that I coude not wele vnderstande it. And also | my lorde abbot of westmynster ded do shewe to me late certa- | yn euydences wryton in olde englysshe for to reduce it in to | our englysshe now vsid / And certaynly it was wreton in | suche wyse that it was more lyke to dutche than englysshe | I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be vnderstonden / And cer- | taynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from that. whi | che was vsed and spoken whan I was borne / For we en- | glysshe men / ben borne vnder the domynacyon of the mone. | whiche is neuer stedfaste / but euer wauerynge / wexynge o- | ne season / and waneth & dyscreaseth another season/ And | that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth | from a nother. In so moche that in my dayes happened that | certayn marchaũtes were in a ship̃ in tamyse for to haue | sayled ouer the see into zelande/ and for lacke of wynde thei | taryed atte forlond. and wente to lande for to refreshe them | And one of theym named sheffelde a mercer cam in to an | hows and axed for mete. and specyally he axyd after eggys | And the goode wyf answerde. that she coude speke no fren- | she. And the marchaũt was angry. for he also coude

Begin *verso* of sig. A j.

Eneydos.

speke | no frenshe . but wolde haue hadde egges / and she vnderstode | hym not/ And thenne at laste a nother sayd that he wolde | haue eyren / then the good wyf sayd that she vnderstod hym | wel / Loo what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte . eg- | ges or eyren/ certaynly it is harde to playse euery man/ by | cause of dyuersite & chaũge of langage . For in these dayes | euery man that is in ony reputacyon in his coũtre . wyll vt | ter his cõmynycacyon and maters in suche maners & ter- | mes / that fewe men shall vnderstonde

Begin *recto* of sig. A ij.

theym/ And som ho- || nest and grete clerkes haue ben wyth me and desired me to | wryte the moste curyous termes that I coude fynde/ And | thus bytwene playn rude/ & curyous I stande abasshed . but | in my Iudgemente/ the comyn termes that be dayli vsed ben | lyghter to be vnderstonde than the olde & aũcyent englys- | she / And for as moche as this present booke is not for a ru | de vplondyssh man to laboure therin /ne rede it/ but onely | for a clerke & a noble gentylman that feleth and vnderston | deth in faytes of armes in loue & in noble chyualrye / Ther- | for in a meane bytwene bothe I haue reduced & translated | this sayd booke in to our englysshe not ouer rude ne curyo- | us but in suche termes as shall be vnderstanden by goddys | grace accordynge to my copye . And yf ony man wyll enter | mete in redyng of hit and fyndeth suche termes that he can | not vnderstande late hym goo rede and lerne vyrgyll / or the | pystles of ouyde / and ther he shall see and vnderstonde lyght | ly all / Yf he haue a good redar & enformer/ For this booke | is not for euery rude dna vnconnynge man to see/ but to | clerkys and very gentylmen that vnderstande gentylnes | and scyence ¶ Thenne I praye alle theym that shall rede | in this lytyl treatys to holde me for excused for the transla- | tynge of hit . For I knowleche my selfe ignorant of con- | nynge to enpryse on me so hie and noble a werke / But I | praye mayster Iohn Skelton late created poete laureate | in the vnyuersite of oxenforde to ouersee and correcte this | sayd booke . And taddresse and expowne where as shalle | be founde faulte to theym that shall requyre it . For hym I | knowe for suffycyent to expowne and englysshe euery dyf- | fyculte that is therin/ For he hath late translated the epyst | lys of Tulle/ and the boke of dyodorus syculus . and di- | uerse other

Begin *verso*.

werkes oute of latyn in to englysshe not in rude || and olde langage . but in polysshed and ornate termes craf- | tely . as he that hath redde vyrgyle/ ouyde . tullye . and all the | other noble poetes and oratours / to me vnknowen : And | also he hath redde the ix . muses and vnderstande theyr mu- | sicalle scyences . and to whom of theym eche scyence is ap- | propred . I suppose he hath dronken of Elycons well . Then | I praye hym & suche other to correcte adde or mynysshe whe | re as he or they shall fynde faulte / For I haue but folowed |

Eneydos.

my copye in frenshe as nygh as me is possyble / And yf ony | worde be sayd therin well / I am glad . and yf otherwyse I | submytte my sayd boke to theyr correctyon/ Whiche boke I | presente vnto the hye born my tocomynge naturell & soue-|rayn lord Arthur by the grace of god Prynce of Walys | Duc of Cornewayll . & Erle of Chester fyrst bygoten sone | & heyer vnto our most dradde naturall & souerayn lorde & | most crysten kynge / Henry the vij . by the grace of god kyn | ge of Englonde and of Fraunce & lord of Jrelonde / byse- | ching his noble grace to receyue it in thanke of me his | moste humble subget & seruaūt/ And I shall praye vnto | almyghty god for his prospero⁹ encreasyng in vertue/ wy- | sedom / and humanyte that he may be egal wyth the most re- | nōmed of alle his noble progenytours ¶ And so to lyue | in this present lyf / that after this transitorye lyfe he and we | alle may come to euerlastynge lyf in heuen / Amen :

POLYCRONICON.

Prohemye.

From a copy in the possession of Mr. Lilly, Bookseller.

Begin *recto* of sig. a 2, the 1st leaf blank.

g Rete thankynges lawde & honoure we merytoryous- | ly ben bounde to yelde and offre vnto wryters of hys- | toryes / whiche gretely haue prouffyted oure mortal | lyf / that shewe vnto the reders and herers by the | ensamples of thynges passyd / what thynge is to be desyred / | And what is to be eschewed / For those thynges whiche oure pro | genytours by the taste of bytternes and experyment of grete Ieo | pardyes haue enseygned / admonested and enformed vs exclu- | ded fro suche peryllys / to knowe what is prouffytable to oure | lyf / and acceptable / and what is vnprouffytable and to be refu- | sed / He is / and euer hath ben reputed the wysest / whiche by the | experyence of aduerse fortune hath byholden and seen the noble | Cytees / maners / and variaūt condycions of the people of many | dyuerse Regyons / For in hym is presupposed the lore of wyse- | dome and polycye / by the experyment of Jeopardyes and pe- | ryllys whiche haue growen of folye in dyuerse partyes and con- | trayes / yet he is more fortunat / and may be reputed as wyse · yf he | gyue attendaunce withoute tastynge of the stormes of aduersyte | that may by the redyng of historyes conteynyng dyuerse custo- | mes Condycyons / lawes & / Actes of sondry nacions come vnto | the knowleche of and vnderstandynge of the same wysedom and | polycye / Jn whiche hystoryes so wreton in large and aour- | ned volumes / he syttynge in his chambre or studye / maye rede / | knowe and vnderstande the polytyke and noble actes of alle the | worlde as of one Cyte / And the conflyctes / errours . Troubles / | & vexacions done in the

Begin *verso* of sig. a 2.

sayd vnyuersal worlde /Jn suche wyse | as he had ben and seen them . in the propre places where as they | were done / For certayne it is a greete beneurte vnto a man that | can be reformed by other and straunge mennes hurtes and sca- | thes / And by the same to knowe / what is requysyte and prouf- | fytable for his lyf / And eschewe suche errours and Jnconueny | tys / by whiche other men haue ben hurte and lost theyr felycyte / | Therfore the coũseylles of Auncyent and whyte heeryd men / in | whome olde age hath engendryd wysedome / ben gretely preysed | of yonger men / And yet hystoryes soo moche more excelle them / | As the dyuturnyte or length of tyme Includeth moo ensamples | of thynges and laudable actes . than thage of one man may suf | fyse to see / Historyes ought not only to be Iuged moost pro- | ffytable to yonge men / whiche by the lecture / redyng & vnderstan | dyng make them semblable & equale to men of greter age / and || to old men / to whome longe lyf hath mynystred experymentes | of dyuerse thynges / but also thystoryes able & make ryght pry- | uate men digne & worthy to haue the gouernaũce of Empyres & | noble Royammes / historyes moeue and withdrawe Emperours | and kynges fro vycious tyrannye / Fro vecordyous sleuthe / | vnto tryumphe and vyctorye in puyssaunt bataylles / Historyes | also haue moeued ryght noble knyghtes to deserue eternal laude | whiche foloweth them for their vyctoryous merytes / And cause | them more valyantly to entre in Ieopardyes of batayles for the | defence and tuicion of their countrey / and publyke wele / hystorye | also affrayeth cruel tyrauntys for drede of Infamye and shame | Infynyte / by cause of the detestable actes of suche cruel personnes | ben oftymes plantyd and regystred in Cronykes vnto theyr | perpetuel obprobrye and dyuulgacion of theyr Jnfamye / As | thactes of nero and suche other / Truly many of hye and couragy- | ous men of grete empryse / desyryng theyr fame to be perpetuelly | conseruyd by lyberal monumentis / whiche ben the permanente re- | cordes of euery vyrtuouse and noble Acte / haue buylded and e- | defyed ryall and noble Cytees / And for the conseruacion of the | wele publycke haue mynystred and establysshed dyscrete and | prouffytable lawes / And thus the pryncipal laude / and cause | of delectable and amyable thynges / in whiche mannes felycyte | stondeth and resteth ought and maye wel be attributed to hysto- | ryes / whiche worde historye may be descryued thus / Historye is | a perpetuel conseruatryce of thoos thynges / that haue be doone | before this presente tyme / and also ā cotydyan wytnesse of bien- | fayttes of malefaytes / grete Actes / and tryumphal vyctoryes | of all maner peple . And also yf the terryble feyned Fables of | Poetes haue moche styred and moeued men to pyte / and con- | seruynge of Justyce / How moche more is to be supposed / that | Historye assertryce of

Polycronicon.

veryte / and as moder of alle philosophye / | moeuynge our maners to vertue / reformeth and reconcyleth ner | hande alle thoos men / whiche thurgh the Infyrmyte of oure | mortal nature hath ledde the mooste parte of theyr lyf in Ocyo- | syte and myspended theyr tyme passed ryght soone oute of Re- | membraunce / Of whiche lyf and deth is egal oblyuyon / |

The fruytes of vertue ben Inmortall / Specyally whanne they | ben wrapped in the benefyce of hystoryes / |

Thenne it muste folowe / that it is mooste fayre to men Mortalle | to suffre labours and payne / for glorye and fame Jmmortalle / || Hercules whan he lyued suffryd greete laboures and peryllys | wylfully puttyng hym self in many terryble and ferdful ieopar | dyes to obteyne of all peple the benefaytes of Inmortal laude & | renommee / We rede of other noble men / somme lordes & | somme other of lower astates reputed as goddes in dyuerse re- | gyons / the whos famous actes / and excellent vertues only hys- | torye hath preseruyd fro perysshyng in eternal memorye / Other | monymentes distributed in dynerse chaunges / enduren but for a | short tyme or season / But the vertu of historye dyffused & spredd | by the vnyuersal worlde hath tyme / whiche consumeth all other | thynges as conseruatryce and kepar of her werke /

Begin *recto* of sig. a 3.

Ferthermore eloquence is soo precious and noble / that al mooste | noo thyng can be founden more precious than it / By Eloquence | the grekes ben preferryd in contynuel honour to fore the rude bar|bares / Oratours and lerned clerkes in like wise excelle vnlerned | and brutyssh peple / Syth this eloquence is suche that causeth men | emonge them self somme texcelle other / after the qualyte of the | vertue and eloquence be seyn to be of valew / For somme we Iu- | ge to be good men digne of laude / whiche shewe to vs the waye | of vertue / and other haue taken another waye for tenflamme | more the courages of men by fables of poesye / than to prouffyte | And by the lawes and Institutes more to punysshe than to teche | Soo that of thyse thynges the vtylyte is myxt with harme / | For somme sothly techyth to lye / But historye representynge the | thynges lyke vnto the wordes / embraceth al vtylyte & prouffite | Jt sheweth honeste / and maketh vyces detestable / It enhaunceth | noble men and depresseth wicked men and fooles / Also thynges | that historye descryueth by experyence / moche prouffyten vnto a | ryghtful lif / Thenne syth historye is so precious & also prouffyta | ble / J haue delybered to wryte twoo bookes notable / retenyng | in them many noble historyes / as the lyues / myracles / passyons | and deth of dyuerse hooly payntes whiche shal be comprysed by | thayde and suffraunce of almyghty god in one of them / whiche | is named

Polycronicon. legenda aurea / that is the golden legende / And that | other book is named polycronycon / in whiche book ben comprised | briefly many wonderful historyees / Fyrst the descripcion of the | vniuersal world / as wel in lengthe as in brede with the diuisiōs | of coūtrees royāmes & empyres / the noble cytees / hye moūtayns | famous ryuers / merueylles & wondres / & also the historial Ac- | tes & wōderful dedes syth the fyrst makyng of heuen & erth Begin *verso* of sig. a 3. vnto || the begynnyng of the regne of kyng edward the fourth / & vnto | the yere of our lord M / CCCC lx . As by thayde of almyghty | god shal folowe al a longe / after the composynge & gaderynge of | dan Ranulph monke of chestre fyrste auctour of this book / and | afterward englisshed by one Treuisa vycarye of barkley / which | atte request of one Sir thomas lord barkley translated this sa- | yd book / the byble & bartylmew de proprietatibus rerū out of la | tyn in to englyssh / And now at this tyme symply emprynted & | sette in forme by me William Caxton and a lytel embelysshed | fro tholde makyng / and also haue added suche storyes as I coude | fynde fro thende that the said Ranulph fynysshed his book which | was the yere of our lord . M . CCC lvij vnto the yere of the sa- | me M CCCC lx / whiche ben an honderd & thre yere / whiche | werke J haue finysshed vnder the noble protection of my most | drad naturel and souerayne lord and moost cristen kynge / kyng | Edward the fourth / humbly besechyng his moost noble grace to | pardone me yf ony thynge be sayd therynne of Ignoraūce / or other | wyse than it ought to be · And also requyryng al other to amen- | de wher as ther is defaute / wherin he or they may deserue thank & | meryte / And J shal praye for them that soo doo / For I knowle | che myn Ignoraunce and also sympleness / And yf ther be thyng | that may plese or prouffite ony man / I am glad that J haue a- | chieued it / And folowynge this my prohemye I shal set a table | shortly towchyd of the moost parte of this book / And where the | sayd Auctor hath alle his werke in seuen bookes / J haue sette | that whiche J haue added to after a parte . and haue marked it | the laste booke / and haue made chapytres acordyng to the other | werke / Of whiche accomplysshyng / / J thank Almyghty God | To whome be gyuen Honour / laude / and glorye / in secula seculo- | rum Amen /

Deo gracias

The Latin "Polycronicon," as originally written by Ranulphus Higden, Monk of Chester, as well as the English translation thereof by Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, as printed by Caxton, are contained in seven books. To "Liber Septimus" Trevisa has appended the following Colophon:—

Polycronicon.

"God be thanked of al his dedes / This translacion is ended on a | thursdaye the eyghtenthe daye of Aprull the yere of our lord a | thousand thre honderd and / lvij / The xxxj yere of kyng Edward | the thyrd after the Conquest of Englond / the yere of my lordes | age Syr thomas lord of berkley that made me make this trans- | lacion fyue and thyrtty /"

To this Caxton has added an Epilogue, which would, however, have appeared in a more appropriate position as a Prologue to his own "Liber Ultimus." It probably owes its position to the fact of there being a blank leaf at the end of the signature, the recto of which it occupies.

EPILOGUE TO "LIBER SEPTIMUS."

Begin *recto* of sig. 49 4.

Hus endeth the book uamed Proloconycon made & compiled | by Ranulph monk of chestre / whiche ordeyned it in latyn & | atte request of the ryght worshipful lord / Thomas lord of berke | ley it was translated in to englisshe by one Treuisa thenne vyca | rye of the Paryssh | of barkley / And for as moche as syth the ac | complysshemeute of this sayd booke made by the sayd Ranulph | ended the yere of oure lord a / M / CCC / lvij / many thynges ha | ue fallen whiche ben requysyte to be added to this werke / by cause | mennes wyttes in this tyme ben oblyuyous and lyghtly forge | ten many thyngys dygne to be putte in memorye / and also there | can not be founden in these dayes but fewe that wryte in theyr | regystres suche thynges as dayly happen and falle· Therfore J | William Caxton a symple persone haue endeuoyred me to wryte | fyrst ouer all the sayd book of proloconycon / and somwhat haue | chaunged the rude and old englyssh / that is to wete certayn wor | des / which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden / & fur | thermore haue put it in emprynte to thende that it maye be had & | the maters therin cōprised to be knowen / for the boke is general | touchyng shortly many notable maters / & also am auysed to ma | ke another booke after this sayd werke whiche shal be sett here | after the same / And shal haue his chapytres & his table a parte | For J dar not presume to sette my booke ne ioyne hit to his / for | dyuerse causes / one is for as moche as I haue not ne can gete no | bokes of auctoryte treatyng of suche cronykes / except a lytel bo- | ke named fasciculus temporum / and another callyd Aureus de | vniuerso / in whiche bookes J fynde ryght lytel mater syth the | sayde tyme / And another cause is / for as moche as my rude | symplenesse and ignorant makyng ought not to be compared / set | ne ioyned to his boke / Thenne J shal by the grace of god set my | werke after a parte for to accomplysshe the yeres syth that he fy- | nysshed

Polycronicon. his book / vnto the yere of our lord / M / CCCC / lx / and | the fyrst yere of the Regne of kyng edward the fourthe / whiche | amoūte to an honderd and thre yere /

Particulars of Higden's original work; of Trevisa's translation; of Caxton's additions thereto; and an example of the change made by the last-mentioned Chronicler in "the rude and old english" of his predecessor Trevisa, will be given in Vol. II, under "Polycronicon." *To this the Reader is referred; and having now reproduced all the shorter pieces, it remains only to reprint the Text of the single work of importance, of which the Authorship can be traced to William Caxton.*

POLYCRONICON, LIBER ULTIMUS.

Jncipit Liber vltimus

tHenne folowyng this fore wreton booke of Prolicronycon | J haue emprysed to ordeyne this newe booke by the suf- | fraunce of Almyghty god to contynue the sayd werk bryefly / | And to sette in hystoriall thynges / suche as J haue conne gete / | from the tyme that he lefte / that was in the yere of oure lord | a thousand thre honderde and seuen and fyfty vnto the yere of | our sayd lord thousand four honderd and syxty and to the fyrst | yereof the regne of kynge Edward the fourth / | Begin *recto* of sig. 50 r.

Capitulum Primum

A.D. 1358. IN the yere of oure lord a Thousand thre honderd eyght | and fyfty in October Robert kuolles a Capytayne of a | greete companye of Englysshe men and other helde and | had wonne many fortresses in Fraunce by Orleaunce in Bry- | tayne and in Normandye / And in the same monethe he lefte his | garnysons / and cam to fore Parys /and there by toke a stronge | place named Amblanullers / And they of Parys sente out men | of warre ageynste them / but they were anone ouerthrowen and | beten in to the toune ageyn / And dayly they assaylled the Frens | shmen vn to the yates of parys / And helde them of Parys soo | strayte that atte laste they were constreyned to bye that place of | hym & to yeue to hym large moneye to departe / And after they | destroyed many places in Champayne / And in Marche after | they toke the Cyte of Anserre and the Castel / At whiche pryse | were made thre knyghtes / that is to saye Robert knolles / Tome- | lyn Fouque and another / whiche thre were Capytaynes of gre- | te Foyson of Englysshmen / And they pylled that toune / which | was Ryche as was sayd / They hadde as moche good and Je- | wellys / as was valewyd to fyue honderde thousand motons | of Golde / And the Rauusonne of prysonners of synguler per- | sonnes was an ouer grete somme / And whan | the Englysshmen had seen the lordes of the toune and had pylled | it viij dayes during / they said they

Begin *verso* of sig. 50 1.

wold brenne the toun so that | they that were lefte dwelling in the toun agreeed to gyue them to || saue it fourty thonsand motons of golde / and syxty perles va- | lewyd at ten thousande motons of golde / And that Englysshe | men sholde bere aweye with them aboue that / as moche goode as | they wold / excepte the Jewellys of the chirche of saynt Germa | yn / the whiche they shold haue in pledge for theyr payemente | vnto mydsomer / and as to the wallys / they sholde breke them | doune / and brenne the gates / and soo they dyde / |

A.D. 1360.

Jn this yere of oure lorde a thonsande thre honderd syxty / And | fyue and thyrtty yere of the Regne of kynge Edward the thir | de the pees was fynysshed and acorded bytwene bothe kynges | af Fraunce and of Englonde / as it is afore sayd / And at al | halowen tyde after bothe two kynges metten to geder at Caleys | with bothe theyr counseyls / And there were shewyd the Arty- | cles and condicions of the pees and acorde / to whiche both party- | es agreed and promysed to obserue and kepe / where forthwith | was songe a solempne masse / And after the thyrdde Agnus dei | vppon goddes bodye / and also on the myssale bothe kynges her | sonnes / and the grettest lordes of both Royames beyng tho there | presente swore to holde obserue and kepe the sayd pees and acor- | de / and alle other couenauntes that were ordeyned bytwene hem |

Aboute this tyme saynt Brygytte an hooly wydowe of | the Royamme of Swethen had many reuelacions to bee enfor- | med vnto alle thastate of the chirche / And Instytued and foū | ded an ordre newe of women and of men / wherof she is Patro- | nes / her feste is kepte the two and twentyest day of Juyll / | Jn the same yere were grete and sodayne tempestes / and strong | lyghtnynge and thondrynge / by whiche howsynge beestes and | trees were perysshed / And the deuyl appered in maunys lyke- | nesse to moche peple in dyuerse places and spak to hem / | Also in dyuerse places of the worlde were erthe quaues / in soo | moche that Basyle the Cyte fylle doune with many Castles a- | boute hit / / That tyme men dwellyd in woodes as | beestes and durste not entre in to Cytees / That tyme | were many bataylles / Pestylence and honger in many places / | Also in dyuerse places the Erthe caste oute whyte water / and | stynkynge . whiche ouerthrewe and made to falle Castels and | stronge places on many places of the worlde / Jn this | yere in the feste of Conuersion of saynt Poule kynge Edward | helde a parlamente at Westmynstre / Jn whiche was shewyd || the pees / and acorde made bytwene the two kynges / | Jtem In the same yere in the Ascencion euen was seen Eclyp- | se of the Sonne / Wherupon fyll a grete droughte / and that for | defaute of Rayn fyll grete derth of Corne and heye / Also this | same yere the same monethe fylle Rayne in Burgoyne almoost |

Begin *recto* of sig. 50 2.

lyke to blood / And a Crosse almoost reede was seen in the ayer | there / Also in the same tyme was seen in Fraunce / in Englond / | and in many other places appyere two Castles / oute of whiche | yssued oute two hoostes of Armed men / that one was clothed | in whyte / that other in black / And whanne the bataylle was | bygonne bytwene them / the white ouercome the black / | And soone after the black ouercome the whyte / And thenne | they retourned in to theyr castels and soo vanysshed aweye / | Jn this yere was an huge pestylence / and this yere deyde Syre | Harry duck of lancastre / Jn the same yere Edward prynce | of wales maryed the Coūtesse of kente . that was Syr Thomas | holandes wyf / whiche was somtyme dyuorsed fro the Erle of | Salysbury / for cause of the same knyght / Aboute this ty | me a grete company of dyuerse nacions assemblyd theym to gy- | der / of whome the gouernours and leders were Englysshmen / | whiche dyde moche harme in Fraunce / Anone after aroos ano- | ther companye of dyuerse nacions / that were callyd the whyte | companye whiche in the countrayes of lombardy dyde moche har | me / This same yere Syre Johan of Gaunt sone to kynge ed- | ward the thyrdde was made duk of lancastre by hys wyf dough | ter and heyr of henry duk of lancastre that deyde / |

Also this yere was a grete wynde / which ouerthrewe houses | Trees / and many a steple in Englond / Jtem in this yere | kynge Edward made Syre leonel his sonne duc of Clarence / | And Edmond his other sonne Erle of Cambrydge / Jn this | yere was ordeyned by a parlament that men of lawe shold ple | te in theyr moder tongue / Jn that yere cam in to Englond | the kynges of Fraunce / Cypres / and scotland / Whiche were wor | shipfully receyued / And after they had ben here long tyme / two | of hem wente in to theyr Countrayes ageyne But the kynge | of Fraunce for grete sekenesse that he had abode stylle in En- | glond /

Sequitur Capitulum Secundum

Capitulum secundum /

Begin *verso* of sig. 50 2.

His yere was an huge froste lastyng fro saynt Andrews | tyde vnto the fourtenthe kalendas of apryll / Jn this yere | ther was a scoler whiche slepte contynuelly by the terme of se- | uen yere in lubyke / And after he awoke and lyued long tyme / | Also this yere was a grete batayll kytwene Syre Johan of | Mountford duc of Brytayne and Syre Charles de bloys / but | the vyctorye fylle to syre Johan thurgh helpe and socoure of en- | glysshmen / This same yere deyde at the maner of sauoye kynge | Johan of Fraunce / and

A.D. 1364. after was caryed to saynt denys in | Fraũce / & there buryed / After Jnnocent
the fyfth vrban was | pope eyght yere / This was abbot of massylyeñ of saynt
benettes | ordre doctour of decrees and reputed an hooly man / he made to
be | preched grete pardon to warre ageynst the turkes / vnto | him seint
brygytta was sente from Cryst for confermacion of her Rule & | ordre / Atte
last / he was poysoned and deyde / Jn this yere seynt | katheryn of Senys was
in her floures an hooly vyrgyn of the | ordre of the frere prechours she had
the stygmates in her handes | and feete and side whiche deyde the yere of our
lord / M / CCC & | four score This yere was ordeyned that Peter pens from
thẽs | forth sholde not be payd / whiche of old tyme was graunted for |
contynuynge of scole in Rome / Jn this yere was borne at bonr- | deux Rychard
prynce Edwardys sonne / whiche after the deth of | his fader and of kyng
edward also was crowned kyng in the | enleuenthe yere of his age by ryght
lygne and assent of al the | comunes of the royame / This yere fyl a grete
variaũce in spayn | & grete warre bytwene peter ryghtful kyng of spayne / &
Henry | his bastarde broder / in soo moche that kynge peter cam to prynce |
Edward to bourdeux to axe socour and helpe of hym / on whome | he had
grete compassion & pyte / And by lycence of kyng edward | his fader / he
pourueyed for his ayde and helpe / Jn this tyme | was seen thre dayes
duryng in the scottyssh see two Egles / One | comyng out of the south / & that
other out of the north / which fo- | ught fyersly to geder / & the south fyrst
scomfyted the north egle / | & he than fled home ageyne to his own costys /
& anon after were | seen many sterrys gadred to geder on one hepe / which fyl
doun to | therth leming with fire lemes in mañ of lightnynges / whos fla | mes
brente mens clothes / & heris walkyng on the groũd / In this | yere prince
Begin *recto* of sig. 50 3. edward / & the duk of lãcastre his broder with a grete || Armee wente in to
spayn . and had a batayll at nazers ageynst | Syre harry the Bastard whiche
had pntte doune kynge Peter | & wan the bataylle / and had the vyctorye / and
put the bastard | and his men to flyght and there were slayne a syx thousand
of | the bastardes partye and a two thousande prysonners taken / of whome the
Erle of dene Syre bertram claykyn and many other | lordes were prysoners /
& the noble Prynce Edward restored | the sayd kyng peter to his Royamme
ageyne / Jn the same yere | was seen a blasyng sterre named Cometa bytwene
the north & | south with bemes toward fraunce / In this yere sir leonel kynge |
Edwardes sone duc of clarence wente to melane / and maryed | the doughter of
galoys / And in the natyuyte of oure lady he dey | de / Jn this yere the bastard
of spayne reentryd ageyne / and sle- | we the kyng Peter the two and twentyest
day of augnst /

Jn this same yere the Frensshmen brake the pees / rydyng in | Guyan and Pontiew takynge castels and tounes / surmysynge | on the englysshe men subtylly and vntruly that they were cause | of the brekynge of the pees . Jn this same yere deyde the | Duchesse lancastre and is buryed at Powlys in london

Capitulum Tercium

A.D. 1370.

N this yere / xliiij / of the kynge was a greete pestylence | and a greete moreyn of Beestes / And there fylle soo gre- | te waters that it caused greete destruction of Corne / in soo moche | that the nexte yere folowyng a busshel of whete was worth thre | schyllynges & foure pens / In the laste day of may was holden a | parlemente at Westmynstre for the brekynge of the pees of the | Frensshmen / aud how the wronges myght be redressyd and auē | gyd / Jn this sayd yere in thassumpcion of oure lady deyde que- | ne philyp / and is buryed at westmynstre / At mydsomer this | same yere the duc of lancastre / and the Erle of Herford with | a grete companye of men of warre wente ouer see toward Fraū | ce / & on Chalkhylle bytwene saynt Omers & guynes was an hu | ge hooste of frensshmen / & the hoost of englysshe men fast by the | same / whiche hadde long leyn there / & dyuerse Englysshe men yaf | counseyll for to fyght with the frensshmen / but the lordes & capi | tayns wold not / Anone after it happed that therle of warwyck || come thyderward / And whanne the Frensshemen herde of his co- | mynge er he cam fully to londe they lefte theyr tentes and pauy- | lons with all theyr vytayl / and fledde theyr weye / And whan | therle was londed he hasted toward normandy / And in his co- | myng ageyne toward Caleys he deyde on the Pestylence / | Jn this yere at mydsomer was made an hooste / and Syre Ro- | bert knollys was made gouernour / And whanne they cam in to | Frauuce / as longe as they helde hem to geder / the Frensshmen | durst not come neygh them / But atte last for enuye and couety | se that was among them they discorded and sundryd them in | to dyuerse companyes / whiche couraged the Frensshmen / in soo | moche that they cam frely on our Englysshmen / and for the most | parte toke and slewe hem / Jn the same yere Pope | vrban cam fro Rome to Auynyon / purposynge to haue made a | fynal pees bytweue Englond and Fraunce / But er he beganne | his traytye he deyde / Somme saye he was poysoned / After | vrban / the enleuenthe Gregory was pope eyght yere / This pope | was callyd to fore Petrus de bello forte / he was deken Cardynal | and deyde in Rome in goddes pees / After hym folowed | grete trybulacion in the chirche whiche god shewyd by Reuela- | cion to saynt Brygytte for the

Begin *verso* of sig. 50 3.

synnes of men of the chirche / | Jn the same yere Prynce Edward beynge at Burdeux by tha-| uys of his counseyl byganne to sette Imposicions and taxes vp | on the duchye of Guyan / wherfore the Cyte of lymoge rebellyd | & fought ageynst hym / & other moo also and torned from hym | to the Frensshe kynge / wherfore he toke and destroyed that Cyte | And slough al that was therynne / Sone after Prynce Ed- | ward cam in to Englonde leuynge behynde hym in Gascoyne | the duck of lancastre / and Syre Edmond Erle of Cambrydge | with other worthy men of armes / Jn the parlement at | Westmynstre was graunted to the kynge a subsydye of fyfty | thousand pound to be payd of the laye fee / And thenne in hate- | red of men of the chirche / the lordes putte out of offyce the chaũ | celer / the Tresorer / and the pryue Seal / and in theyr
A.D. 1374. stede were | pntte seculer men / Jn the eyght and fourtyest yere | of the Regne of kynge Edward the duk of lancastre / and the | Erle of Cambrydge the kynges sones cam oute of guyan in to | englond and were maryed to two susters / doughters & heyres | of kyng peter of spayne / That same yere Frensshe men besye- | ged Rochel / wherfore the Erle of Penbroke was sente
Begin *recto* of sig. 50 4. in to || Gascoyn wtth a greete company of men of armes / And er they | couthe entre in the hauen of Rochel ther cam vppon hem a stron- | nauye of spayne / whiche scomfyted the Englysshe men / and | toke the Erle with grete tresour and many other noble men / | Thenne the kynge with a grete hoost entryd the see to hane reuẽ- | ged the siege of Rochel / but the wynde wold not serue hym / | Wherfore he taryed longe at the see Cost / abydynge after a good | wynde / but it cain not / and soo he retourned home ageyne / | Thenne the duc of lancastre with a grete hoost wente in to Flaũ- | dres / and passyd thurgh pycardye to parys / and soo thurgh alle | Fraunce / till he cam to burdeux withoute ony resystence /

Aboute this tyme wenzelaus sone of charles kyng of Boheme | his fader yet lyuyng was electe and chosen to be Emperour / | he beyng a childe / of whiche empyre he toke none heede / ne rought | not / Wherfore after he had regued four and twenty yere / and af | ter many warnynges he was deposed / his lecherous lyf defouled | hys noble wytte / and his ende was withoute worshippe / For he | was neuer crowned with a dyademe /

Jn this yere were sent fro the pope two bisshops / one of rauẽne | & one of carpentras for to treate bytwene two kynges of fraũce & | of englond / & day was holden at Brugys in flaũdres / & ther we | re for the kyng of englond the duc of lancastre / the bisshop of lon | don | and many other / And for the Frensshe kynge the Duc of | Burgoyne / his broder the bisshop of Amyens / and many other | but they concluded no thyng /

Capitulum quartum

N the fyftyest yere of kynge edwardes regne on Trynyte | sondaye that yere the eyghte daye of Juyn deyde the noble | Prynce edward at kenyngton / and brought to westmestre wher | he had his obsequye / and fro thens caryed to caunterburye / and | there worshipfully beryed besyde saynt thomas shryne / Aboute | this tyme bartholus & baldus greete doctours of lawe were in | her floures / After the deth of pope gregory the / xj began the worst | scysme that euer was in the chirche whiche dured xl / yere / For | at rome was vrban the syxthe chosen by force & strength of the || Romaynes / And this dyde the Cardynals for drede / ageynste | theyr entente and wyll / therfore they fledde to the cyte fundorum | saynge hym not to be pope / And chose in his place Robertum de | gebennis / the same yere whiche was named the seuenth clement | And thus beganne the scysme / Jn the fyfthe yere the mayre of | london Adam stable was dyscharged the / xxj day of marche / | And nicholas brembre chosen by vertu of a lettre that cam from | the kyng / The same yere was a grete parlemente at westmynstre / | in whiche the kynge axyd a grete subsydye / but the Commynes | answerd that they myght no lenger bere suche charges / aud sa- | yde they knewe wel that the kynge had good ynowgh for hym | self and for sauyng of his Royame / yf the Royamme were well | gouerned / but it hadde be longe euyl ruled by euyl offycers | that the londe myght not be plentiuous of chaffare marchaūdyse | ne Ryches / & shewyd many complayntes of dyüsers officers of | the Royamme / And namely on the lord latemer the kynges chā | berlayn / and on dame Alyce pyers / for grete wronges that | mysgouernaunce that were done by theyr counseylle / desyrynge | that they sholde be remeuyd and other putte in theyr stede / suche | as were wyse true / wel proued and of good gouernaunce / | And soo amonge all other they chees Syre Pyers delamare a | wyse knyght and eloquent for to be speker for the commynes / | And by cause the same Syre Pyers tolde and publysshed the | trouthe / rehersynge the wronges don by dyuerse personnes of the | kynges hous / Anone after the deth of the good prynce Edward | he was putte in to perpetuel prysonne / The same yere | anone after Candelmasse durynge the sayd parlement a subsy- | dye was graunted to the kynge bothe of the Clergye / and of | the temporalyte / that is to saye of the temporalyte of euery per- | sone passynge fourten yere of age / he shold haue four pens / except | poure beggers / And of euery man of hooly Chirche benefyced | or promoted twelue pens / and vnpromoted foure pens / excepte | the four ordres of Freres / The same Rychard Prynce |

A.D. 1376.

Begin *verso* of sig. 50 4.

Edwardys sonne was made prynce of wales / And to hym the | kynge gafe the
Ducherye of Cornewayle / and the Erldome of | chestre / Jn the / lij / yere
A.D. 1377. June 21st. of kynge Edwardes regne the / xj / | kalendys of Juyn the sayd kynge Edward
deyde in his maner | at Shene / and from thens brought to westmynstre / and
there | buryed worshipfully atte southe syde of saynt edwardes Shryne | On
whoos soule god haue mercy / Amen /

Capitulum 5.

Begin *recto* of sig. 50 5. Fter kyng Edward the thyrd Regned rychard the second | that was the
noble prynce edwardes sone of wales / which | kyng Rychard was borne
at bourdeux / he was crouned at west | mestre / the enleuenth yere of his
A.D. 1378. age / Jn the second yere | of his regne the lord latemer and Syre Rauf
Ferys stryuyng | and beyng at debate with Syre Robert hawle and one
shakleye | for the Erle of dene theyr prysoner cam in to westmynstre chirch |
and there slough atte hye masse tyme the sayd hawle / And Sha | kle was
arestyd and putte in the toure of london / Jt is sayd | that this was done by
commaundemente of the duc of Gloucetre | Wherfore he cam / and was assoylled
at westmynstre . and made | greete amendes and gafe grete gyftes and Jewellys
therfore to | the sayd chirche / Aboute this tyme the fest of the vy- |
sytacion of our lady was bygonne by pope vrban the enleuenth | after the
forme and also the same pardon that is yeuen to the fes- | te of the Sacramente /
whiche feste is holden the second daye of | Juyll / Jn this tyme the grete
maystre of Rhodes entryd | in to Turquye with a grete companye / And there
by the Grekes / | that were with the Turkes he was discomfyted and taken /
and | the remenaunt of his peple deed and taken to fore a Castel callid |
A.D. 1379. Sayette / Jn the thyrdde yere of his regne cam certayne galeyes | of warre oute
of Fraunce in to dyuerse portis of Englond and | robbed / brente / and slue
moche peple / in so moche that they cam | to grauysende and brente a grete
part of the toune / | Jn the same yere was ordeyned at a parlement
at westmynstre / | that euery man and woman past fourtene yere of age / shold
pa- | ye to the talage four pens / wherfor fyl afterward moch meschyef | For in
A.D. 1380. the fonrth yere of his regne the Comons aroos in dyuer | se partyes in Englond /
and dyde moche harme / and it was callyd | the hurlyng tyme / And they of
kente and of Estsex made hem | two Capytayns callyd Jac strawe | and watte
Tyler / And | they assembled on blacheth / and on corpus Cristi day they cam |
in to Southwerk / and lete oute all the prysoners of the kyuges | benche and
marchal see / And cam in to london and robbed alle | the alyens and straungers

and sloughe and made hauoke / | On the morne after they cam to the
toure of london where the kyn | ge was presente the same tyme / and toke oute
the Archebisshop || of Caunterbury / and the pryour of saynt Johans / and a Begin *verso* of sig. 50 5.
why- | te Frere confessour to the kyng and smote of theyr hedes atte tour |
hyll / thenne come they ageyne to london and slewe men of lawe / | and other
worthy men in dyuerse partyes of the toune / Thenne | wente' they to the duc
of lançastres place callyd Sauoye / and | destroyed it doune / and bare awey the
goodes that they might fyn | de and brente the place / thenne wente they to
westmestre and sa- | ynt martyns the graunt . and delyuerd them all oute of
sayntua | rye that were therynne for ony maner grythe / Thenne cam they | to
the Temples / and to alle other Jnnes of men of lawe . and de | spoylled and
brente theyr bookes / Thenne came they to london a- | geyne / and toke oute al
the prysonners felons and other oute of | newgate / and both countours and
destroyed theyr bookes / Thēne | on the monday kyng Rychard sent for the
mayr of london Will- | iam walworth / and his aldermen / and they wente to
speke and | knowe thentencion of thyse rebellous peple / Thenne this |
Jac strawe lete make an oye in the felde that all his peple shold | come nere
and here his crye and wyll / Thenne the lordes the ma | yer & aldermen hauyng
indignacion of his presumpcion and co- | uetyse / and the mayer seenge that he
dyd noo reuerence to the | kynge starte to hym and slewe the sayd Jac straw
Capytayne | of the Rebellys and anone his hede was smyten of / And the he | de
reysed vp that all myght see hit / And forthwith Incontynēt | alle tho Rysers
and mysgouerned peple fledde awey / | Thenne the kyng forthwith
dubbyd the mayer knyght / and fy | ue of his bretheren Aldermen / that is to
saye Syr william wal | worth Mayer / Syre Nychol Brambre / Syr Johan
Phylpot / | Syre Nychus Twyford / Syre Robert laundre / and Syre Ro- | bert
gayton / And after this as they myght take and gete thyse | rebellys and
mysgouerned people / they henge hem vp by ten / by | twelue twenty &c / In
the fyfth yere was a grete erth qua | ue thurgh oute al the world / the one A.D. 1381.
and twentyest day of maye | Of whiche al maner peple was sore aferd /
This yere que | ne Anne cam in to englond and was maryed vnto kyng richard |
at westmynstre / Jn the syxth yere Syre Henry spencer | bisshop of A.D. 1382.
norwiche wente ouer see with a Croysye in to Flaun- | dres and gate the townes
of grauenyng / burbugh / and Dun- | kyrke / And ther he dyde do lade one and
fyfty shippes with pil | lage and goodes whiche sholde haue comen in to Englond .
But | the Bisshop lete brenne the shippes with alle the pyllage in the || same Begin *recto* of sig. 50 6.
hauen / And he had a grete batayl with the Flemyuges at | dunkyrke / and
there were slayn an huge multitude of Flemyn | ges / The Bisshop with his

retenue wente and besyeged Jpre | longe tyme / but he couthe not gete it / And by cause many of his | men deyde there of the flux / he cam ageyne in to englond / |

The same yere was a bataylle done within the kynges palays | at westmynstre for certayne poyntes of treasonne bytwene Syre | Johan Ansley knyght defendaunt / and garton Squyer appel | launt / And the defendaunt discomfyted thappellaunt / Alle this | tyme dured the Scysme / For vrban at Rome was chosen Pe- | trus de thomacellys / and was named Bonefacius Nonus / 13 ye- | re / And after Clemens was chosen in Auynyon Petrus de lu- | na / whiche was named / benedictus / xiij / and he abode pope there | two and twenty yere/ And after Boneface was Jnnocencius | septimus two yere / And after hym Gregorius 12ꝰ / . vij / yere / and | after hym Alexander grecus one yere / And thēne after hym Jo | hannes visesimus tercius / and thenne at Counseyll of Constan- | ce was chosen martinus quintus / and soo of alle thyse forsayd | popes from gregorius vndecimus vnto Martinus Quintus en- | dured the scysme by the space of fourty yere that it was not kno | wen who was the very and vndoubted pope |

Capitulum sextum /

A.D. 1384. N the eyght yere of kyng Rychardes regne / Syr edmond | of langely Erle of Cambrydge the kynges vncle wente | in to Portyngale with a grete companye of men of Armes and | Archers in strengthyng and helpyng the kynge of Portyngale | ageynst the kynge of Spayne / And there the kynge of Portyn- | gale had the vyctorye / That done the Erle of Cambrydge | cam home ageyne with his Armye in to englond / The same | yere kyng Rychard helde his Crystemasse at Eltham / The kyng | of Ermonye the same tyme fledde oute of his owne londe / and | cam vnto kynge Rychard for socour and ayde / For the Turkys | had deuoured & destroyed moche of his londe / The kyng hauyng | grete pyte & compassion of his grete meschyef toke coūseyl herup | on / And it was concluded that the kynge shold yeue hym some | good / for Begin *verso* of sig. 50 6. tauenture his peple so ferre it were a grete Ieopardye || And so the kyng gaf hym gold and syluer and many ryche yef | tes / and betaught hym to god and soo he departed oute of En- | glond This same yere kynge Rychard with a grete and puis | saunt Armee wente toward Scotland / And the Scottys sente | to the kynge and desyred and made grete laboure for to haue a | tryeus / soo a tryeus was taken and made / and thenne the kyng | retorned to york / and there Syre Johan holond therle of kentis | broder slewe therlys

sone of stafford / wherfore the kyng was so- | re meued / and retorned to
london / Jn the nynthe yere | of his regne was a parlement at westmynstre / A.D. 1385.
Jn whiche the | kynge made and created two Dukes / Fyue Erlys / and a mar- |
quys / Syr Edmond of langely the kynges vncle Erle of cam | brydge was made
duc of york Syre thomas of wodestok | his other vncle that was Erle of
bokyngham was made duc of | Gloucetre / Syre leonel vere Erle of Oxenford
was made Mar- | quys of deuelyn / Harry bolyngbroke the dukes sonne of
lan | castre was made erle of derby / Syre Edward the dukes so | ne of
york was made erle of Ruthlond . Syre Johan holond the | Erle of kentys
broder was made erle of huntyngdon / | Syr Thomas monbray erle
of notyugham was made Erle mar | chal of Englond / Syre mychel de la pole
knyght was made | Erle of Suffolk / and Chaunceler of Englond / Atte this
sa- | me parlement therle of marche was proclamed heyre apparaūte | to the
crowne of Englond after kynge Rychard / The said Er | le of marche wente
ouer see in to Jrlond vnto his lordship therl | dome of vlster whiche was hys
by enherytaunce / And there as | he lay on a tyme in a castel of his / there cam
vppon hym greete | multitude of wylde Jrysshe men / and he cam oute of his
Castell | fyersly with his peple / and fought with hem manly / and there | he
was slayne / Jn the tenth yere the erle of Arondel went | to the See with
a greete nauye / and there he mette an hoole flete | comynge fro the Rochel
laden with wyn / whiche were enemyes | goodes whiche flete he toke and
brought in to dyuerse hauens in | Englond / and somme vnto london / where
men myght bye a tonne | of Rochel wyn for twenty schyllynges / Jn the
enleuenth | yere of his regne was tharysyng of certayn lordes in englond in | A.D. 1387.
destruction of rebellys / &c / that is to saye Syre Thomas wodestok | duk of
gloucetre / Syre Rychard erle of arundele / Syre Richard | erle of warwyk /
Syre harry of Bolyngbroke Erle of Derby / | And Syre thomas monbray erle
marchal These fyue lordes of || vnderstode the myschyef & gouernaūce of the Begin *recto* of sig. 50 7.
kynges counceylle | wherfor they that were that tyme of the kynges coūseyll
fled out | of the londe / that is to saye mayster Alysaunder neuel Archebis | shop
of york / Syre mychel de la pole Erle of Suffolk & chaun | celer of englond /
and the marquys of deuelyn / Syr Robert le ve- | re / these thre lordes cam
neuer ageyne in to englond / for they dey | de beyonde the see / These fyue
lordes aboue sayd made a parlemēt | at westmestre / and there they toke Syre
Robert Tresylyon Jus | tyce / Syre nychol brembre knyght and Cyteseyne of
london / Syr | Johan Salesbury knyght and vske sergeaunt with other moo |
whiche were Juged to deth and were drawe to Tyburn / and | there hanged /
Also in the same parlemente / Syre Symon beuer- | ley knyght of the garter /

Syre Johan beauchamp knyght sty- | ward of the kynges hous / and syr Johan
berneis were byhedid | atte toure hylle Also Robert bealknap Johan holte /
Johan | Cary / William burgh / Robert fulthorp and Johan lokton Jus | tyses
were exyled in to Irlond ther for to dwelle all her lyf ty- | me / Jn the
A.D, 1388. twellifth yere duryng the sayd parlement was | holden a general Justys in
smythfelde of lordes knyghtes and | squyers for all maner straungers that
wolde come / holdyng open | housholde to hem and alle other . And alle they
of the kyngys | hous were of one sute / theyr Cotys / theyr armys / theyr
sheldes / | and theyr trappours were browdrid all with whyte hertis with |
Crownes of gold about theyr neckes and cheynes of gold han | gyng theron
whiche hertys was the kynges leuerey that he yaf | to lordes ladyes knyghtes
and squyers to knowe his houshold pe | ple from other / Thenne four and
twenty ladyes comynge to the | Justys ladde four and twenty lordes with
cheynes of gold and | alle in the same sute of hertes as is a fore sayd from the
tour on | horsbak thurgh the Cyte of london in to smythfeld / To this feste |
cam many grete lordes straungers oute of Fraunce / henaud / Ho | lond and of
other countreyes / whiche feste and Justes endured | four and twenty dayes
vppon the kynges cost / whanne the feste | was ended and Justys the king
thankyng the straungers yaue | to them grete yeftes / And thenne they toke
A.D. 1389. their leue / and so de- | parted / Jn the thirtenth yere was a bataille done in
the pala | ys at westmestre bitwene a Squyer of nauerne that was with | the
kinge / and a squyer callid Johan walssh for pointes of trea | sonne / that he of
nauerne put vppon this walssh / but in the ende | he of nauerne was ouercome
Begin *verso* of sig. 50 7. and disconfyted in the felde / || & yelded hym / And anon he was despoylled
of his armure and | drawen oute of the palays vnto Tyburne / and there
hanged / |

Capitulum Septimum /

A.D. 1390. i N the fourtenthe yere Sir Johan of Gaunt duk of lancas | tre with a
grete hooste wente in to spayne to Clayme and | chalenge his ryght by
his wyues tytle vnto the Crowne of spa- | yne / and he had with hym
the Duchesse his wyf and his thre | doughters . And therafter grete
commynycacion herupon had they | were acorded and concluded that the
kynge of Spayne shold | marye the duck of lancastres doughter / And he shold
yeue to the | duck of lancastre gold and syluer / whiche was casten in to grete |
wedgys and soo many other Jewellys / as moche as eyght cha- | ryottis myghte
carye / And euery yere after durynge the lyf of | the dnc / and his wyf / ten
thousand marc of gold / Of whiche | golde they of spayne sholde aduenture

and bere the Jeopardye | therof / and brynge yerly vnto bayon to the dukes assygnees / by | surete made / Also the duc of lancastre dyde doo marye ano- | ther of his doughters to the kyng of Portyngale the same tyme / | And thenne he retourned / and cam ageyne in to Englond with | his wyf / Jn this yere the Turkes made grete warre | ageynste Crystendome vnto the Cyte of Jene / wherfore the Je- | newayes sente to the kynge of Fraunce for ayde / and also to the | kynge of Englond / And soo ther were wente oute of Fraunce | fyften honderd knyghtes with the duc of Borbon / and the Erle | of ewe / and other / And oute of Englond wente the Erle of | Alby a valyaunt man with certayne Archers / And they ship- | ped at marcellis / and wente and besyeged thunes in Barba- | rye and made there many skarmuches / and putte oute ofte the | Sarasyns / but in thende the turke fered / and made trewes for | a seasonne / and delyuerd alle the Crysten prysonners / and payd | ten thousand ducatis / and soo the Crysten men retorned hoome | ageyne / Jn the fyftenth yere of kynge Rychardes reg- | ne / he helde A.D. 1391. his Crystemas at wodestok / where therle of Penbro- | ke a yonge lorde and tendre of age wolde lerne Juste with a | knyght called Syre Johan saynt Johan / And rode to geder in | the parke / And there the Erle was slayn with the knyghtes spe | re as he cast it from hym / whanne they hadde coped / ||

This yere Johan hynde beynge that tyme mayer of london & | Iohan Begin *recto* of sig. 50 8. Shadeworth and henry vanner shereues were dysharged | of theyr offyces before saynt Johans day baptyst / and the kyng | seased the fraunchyse and lybertees of the Cyte of london / And | ordeyned and constitued Syr Edward dalyngredge wardeyn of | the Cyte / and endured in his offyce vnto the fyrst day of Juyll | the yere / xvj / And thenne Syr Bowdwyn Radyngton was | A.D. 1392. made wardeyue to saynt Symons daye and Jude / The cause ther | of was for a bakers man beryng a basket with hors brede in to | Fletestrete / there come a man of the bisshop of Salesburyes that | toke oute an hors loof oute of the baskette / wherfore the bakers | man stroue with the yoman / soo that the Bisshops man brake | the bakers mans heede / Thenne neyghbours come aboute to haue | rescowed hym and to haue arestyd the Bisshops man / But he | scope fro hem in to his lordes place / The Constable cam and wold | haue had hym out / but they withynne the place kept it that they | myght not come in / And thēne come the mayer with moche peple | and sayde / they wold haue hym oute or brenne the place / and all | that were therin / The Bisshop beynge tresorer of Englonde and | the archebisshop of Caunterbury wente to geder to wyndesore to | the kynge / and made a grete complaynte to the kyng and his coū | seylle of the Cyte of london / And the kynge sente for the mayer | and

shereues / and yaf hem grete rebukes for thoffence that they | hadde done
ageynst hym and his offycers in his Chambre of lon | don / And deposed the
mayer and shereues / and made a wardeyne | of the Cyte as afore is sayd / Jn
A.D. 1392-3. the syxtenth yere the kyng with | drewe his courtes from westmynstre to
yorke / whiche were there | holden and kepte fro the feste of sayut Johan
baptyst unto Cry | stemasse after / Thenne atte requeste of the goode Quene
Anne & | of the bisshop of london thēne callyd grauesende / the kyng grau̅ |
ted the Fraunchyse and lybertees to the Cyte of london and they | of london
gaf to seynt edwards shryne a table of syluer and ena | meled stondyng on the
Awter / And after this the mayer Alder | men and shereuys mette with the
kyng submyttynge them hum | bly to hym as they ought do / And resseyuyng
the kyng thurgh | the Cyte with grete tryumphe / and brought hym to
westmynstre | And on the morne after the mayer aldermen and shreues presen- |
tyng the sayd table & other yeftes prayd the kynge of his good | and speciall
grace to haue theyr lybertees and Fraunchyses / as | they hadde to fore tyme /
Begin *verso* of sig. 50 8. And soo the kyng grannted to them alle || theyr askynge and wente home
ageyne / Jn this same yere | the duc of lancastre was sente in to Fraunce to
demaunde a myl | lion of scutes whiche was due for the raunson of kyng
Johan / | And dyuerse places as peytowe Rochell / and a parte of Guy | an /
And he was answerd by the counseylle of Fraunce that the | men of warre
of Englond hadde done harme in Fraunce aboue | the trewes to the somme of
thre mylions / whiche oughte to be | repayred fyrst / and so departed ageyne /
A.D. 1393. Jn the seuententhe | yere come oute of Scotlande certayne lordes in to Englonde
to ge- | te worship by fete of armes / Therle of morryf chalengid the Erle |
marchal of Englonde to Iuste with hym on hors back with shar- | pe speres /
And soo they roode to geder certayne conrses / but not | the full chalenge / For
the Scottyssh Erle was caste bothe hors & | man / & two of his rybbes broken
with the same falle / and soo bor | ne home in to his Inne / & anone after was
caryed homewarde | in a littyer / and at York he deide Syre william darel
banerer | of Scotlande · and Syre pyers Courtney the kynges banerer of | of
englond ryden to gyder certain courses of warre hitte & assayed | The
Scottysshe knyght seyng he myght not haue the beter / yafe it | ouer / and
wold noo more of the chalenge / Thenne one Cok- | burn Squyer of Scotland
and Syre nychol hauberk rode fyue | coursys / and at euery cours the Scot
A.D. 1393. was caste bothe hors and | man / This same yere the seuententh day of Juyn
deyde the good | quene Anne kynge Rychardes wyf / And lyeth buryed at west |
mynstre by saynt Edwardes shryne / |

Capitulum Octauum.

A.D. 1394.

N the yere 1494 were trewes taken bytwene the kyng of | Fraunce / and the kynge of Englonde for foure yere / | Also this same yere aboute Crystemasse kynge Rychard wente | fyrst in to Jrlond / After wenzelaus / Rupertus alias Robertus | was Emperour nyne yere / This Robertus duk of bayer and | Counte Palatyn on the Ryn a Iuste and trewe man and a ca- | tholyke / he was crowned of the nynthe Boneface the Pope / He | entryd in to ytalye with a grete armye ageynst duk galyace / but | he retorned with grete losse / About this tyme was that cur | syd heresye of Johan wyclyf in Englond / and Johan hus in | bohemye / and Ierome of praghe / which heresye enfected moch peple || And vnder the habyte of a lambe hydyuge woluysshe cruelte | hadde purposed to subuerte alle the state of the chirche. And the | sklaunderous scysme whiche was in this euyll tyme was a gre | te helpe to them / Also this tyme the heresyee Ada- | mitarum beganne to growe in Boheme / but it was putt doune | by the hussytys / That was ouer grosse and vnshamefast / | For they wente naked / and Indyffrently dyde theyr lecherye | with wommen / Petrus de Elyaco / and Johan Ger- | son his disciple both doctours of dyuynyte of Parys were in her | floures this tyme · / Jn this yere were merueyllous | grete wyndes thre monethes contyuuelly / and specially in sep | tember that ouerthrewe greete trees with fruyte howses chyme- | neyes and steples / And ther was seen in langedok in Fraunce / | a grete sterre and fyue lytell sterres assayllynge the grete / and | poursyewed it by the space of an houre / and a voys cryeng fro | heuene. And after was seen a man semyug of Copper holdyng | a spere in his handes by the greete sterre / and smote hit / | And after that it was no more seen / Jn other places we- | re herde the noyse of harneysed men fyghtynge / |

Begin *recto* of sig. 52 1, which follows sig. 50 8 in the original.

A.D. 1395-6.

Jn the nynetenthe yere of kyng Rychard / he wente | to Calays / and maryed there qnene Jsabel the kynges doughter | of Fraunce · At whiche tyme the Frensshe lordes were sworen | on a booke that alle couenauntes. Forwardys and composicions | ordeyned and made on both sydes shold be truly holden and kept | withoute contradiction or dylaye in ony maner wyse / | And whanne this Ryal maryage was done and fynysshed / | kynge Rychard with dame Jsabel his quene cam in to Englond | And the mayer of london with all his bretheren with grete mul | titude of the Comons of the Cyte & the Craftys resseyued hem | worshipfully atte Blacheth and brought hem to saynt Georges | barre / And there takynge theyr leue · the kynge and the Quene | roode to kenyngton /

And after that withynne a whyle the | quene cam to the Toure of london /
at whoos comyng was moche | harme done / For on london brydge were nyne
personnes crow | ded to deth / Of whome the pryour of Typtre was one / | And
from the tour she wente thurgh the Cyte of london to west | mynstre / and there
she was crowned / And after | this kyng rychard by appoyntemente
delyuerd the toun of brest | to the duc of brytayne / wherof bygon moche
Begin *verso* trouble and sorowe || whiche dured vnto his deth · Jn the twentyest yere
of sig. 52 1. A.D. 1396-7. kyng | Rychard dyde holde a grete feste at westmynstre / At whiche feste |
arryued the Sowdyours that hadde kepte breste / And sate atte | dyner in the
hall / and after dyner the Duc of Gloucetre sayd to | the kynge / Syre haue ye
not seen tho felawes that sate at dyner | in your halle / And the kynge
demaunded who they were / | And he sayd these ben youre folk that haue
seruyd yow and ben | come from breste / and now wote not what to doo / and
haue ben | euyl payd / Thenne the kynge sayd that they shal be payed / |
Thenne answerd the duc of Gloucetre in a grete furye / Syre ye | ought fyrste
to putte youre bodye in deuoyre to gete a toune or a | Castel by fayt of warre
vpon your enemyes / er ye sholde selle or | delyuer ony townes that your
predecessours kynges of Englond | haue goten and conquerd To the whiche
the kynge answerd | ryght angrely / how saye ye that / Thenne the duk his
vncle sayd | it ageyn / Thenne the kynge byganne to wexe wrothe and sayde |
Wene ye that J be a marchaunt or a foole to selle my londe / by | saynt Johan
baptist nay / but trouthe it is that our Cosyn of bri | tayne hath rendryd and
payd to vs the somme that my predecesso | urs hadde lente vppon the sayd
touue of Brest / and syth he hath | payed it is reasonne / that this toune be
delyuerd to hym ageyne / | Thus beganne the wrath bytwene the kynge and
his vncle / | And afterward at Arondele was a Counseylle of certayne lor | des /
as the duck of Gloucetre the Archebisshop of Caunterbury / | The Erles of
arondele / warwyk and marchal / and other / For | to refourme the rewle
aboute the kynge / whiche lordes promysed | eche tabyde by other and soo
departed / and anone after the Er- | le marchal whiche was Capytayne of Calays
bewrayed and | lete the kynge haue knowleche of all theyr counseylle /
A.D. 1397. Wherup- | on the fyue and twentyest daye of august / the duke of Gloucetre |
was arrestyd at plasshey in Estsex / and brought to the tour of | london and
from thennes sente to Calays / and there mnrthred | and slayne withoute processe
of lawe or Justyce / / and therle of | arondel / the Erle of warwyk Syr Johan
Cobham / Syre Iohn | cheyne knyghtes were arestyd and putte in holde / Saue
therle of | arondel fonde seurte tanswere and wente at large tyl the parle- | ment
A.D. 1397-8. tyme / Jn the one & twentyest yere of kyng rycharde at the | parlement holden

at westmynstre / therle of arondel was brought | to fore alle the lordes / and
there was Juged to deth / that | he sholde goo on fote fro westmynstre thurgh
the Cyte of london || to the tour hylle / And there to haue his heede smyten Begin *recto* of sig. 52 2.
of | And syxe lordes roode with hym to see that Execucion sholde |
be doo with grete multitude of peple of men of Armes and Ar- | chers /
For they dredde leste he shold be rescowed by men of lon- | don /
And on the morne tharchebisshop of Cannterbu | ry his broder was
banysshed for euermore / And Syre Thomas | Mortemer was banysshed
also / And Syre Rychard Erle of | warwyck cam to fore the parlemente /
And was Juged to the | same deth / but by cause of his age he was releced
to perpetuel | prysonne / The Mondaye after Syre Johan | Cobham /
and Syre Johan Cheyne were Juged to be drawen & | hanged / but at
the Instaunce of the lordes that Jugement was | releced vnto perpetuel
prysonne / And this done kyng Rychard | made a ryal feste and helde open
Courte / Jn whiche feste he made | fyue Dukes / A marqueys / and fyue Erles /
that is to saye the | Erle of Derby was made duc of Herford / The Erle of
Ruth- | lond was made Duc of Anmarle / The Crle of Kente / Duck of | Surrey/
The Erle Huntyngdon Duck of Excetre / The Erle | Marchal Duck of Norfolke /
The Erle of Somersete Marqueys | of Dorsete / The lorde spencer / Erle of
Gloucetre / The lord Ne- | uyll Erle of westmerlonde / Syre Thomas Percy /
Erle of wor- | cetre / Syre william Scrope Erle of wylshyre / Syre Iohan
Mon | tague Erle of Salysbury / And thus there was a greete feste | to al these
lordes / and to all other that wold come / | Jn the same yere fylle a
greete debate and dyssencyon bytwene | the Duck of herford Erle of Derby on
that one partye / And | the Duke of Norfolke Erle marchal on that other
partye / Jn so | moche that they waged bataylle and caste doune theyr gloues |
whiche were taken vp byfore the kynge and ensealed / And | the daye and
place assygned at Couentre / To whiche place the | kynge cam the Duk of
lancastre aud other lordes / | And whanne bothe partyes were in the
felde redy for to fyghte | the kynge toke the matere in his owne honde / And
forthwyth | he exyled and banysshed the Duke of Herford for ten yere / |
And the duke of norfolke for euer / The Duc of Norfolcke | deyde at venyse
Jn the two and twentyest yere of kyng Ry- | chard there were made blank A.D. 1398-9.
Charters / to whiche all the Ryche | men of the Royamme were compellyd to
sette to theyr seales / | Aud it was noysed thurgh the Royamme / that he
hadde sette | Englond to ferme to Syre william Scrope Erle of wylshyre / sir ||
Johan busshe / Syre Johan grene / and sir Johan bagot / and he | ordeyned Begin *verso* of sig. 52 2.
his vncle Syr edmond of langley duk of yorcke to be | his lyeutenaunt / whiles

A.D. 1398-9. he shold be in Jrlond in his absence / | Jn this yere deyde the duc of lancastre/ and is buryed at pow | lus in london / Thenne kynge Rychard wente in to | Jrlonde with many lordes and grete ordenaunce / And there | he was wel resseyued / And the wilde Jrysshmen cam downe to | hym with theyr Capytaynes and yelded them to hym / aud swo | re to be his true lyege men / and dyde hym hommage and feawte | Thus he conquerd Jrlond the moost part in a lytel whyle / |

Whyles kynge Rychard was in Jrlond thus occupyed Syre | Harry of Bolyngbrooke Erle of Derby the duc of lancastres | sonne / whome kynge Rychard hadde made Duk of Herford / | And had exyled hym for certayn causes / & with hym tharchebis | shop of Caũterbury also londed at rauenspore in the north contre | And by the Coloure of his tytle to the Duchye of Lancastre he | reysed and assembled the people euer as he wente in soo moche | as he hadde greete multitude of peple / For the peple were soo op- | pressyd with the offycers of kyng Rychard / that almoost all the | Commyns of the londe were redy to awayte on the Erle of Der | by / hopynge to be releuyd by hym / Jncontynent tydynges | cam to kynge Rychard beyng in Jrlond how he was landed and | that the Comons drewe faste to hym / Anone he made hym redy | and cam ouer see in to Englond with alle his hooste / and arry- | ued in Mylford hauen / And there taryed a two dayes for to | refresshe hym and his hooste / And in the mene whyle the lordes | and mooste parte of the peple vnderstode that the Erle of Derby | bycam strenger and strenger / began to murmure and to grutche / |

That seynge / Syr thomas Percy called them to geder brake | the Roode of his offyce / For he was styward / and badde euery | man goo his wey vnwetyng the kynge / And so in the nyght | euery man wente his weye leuynge the kynge allone saue two | or thre lordes with a fewe men / whiche lordes for sewerte and | by counseyll of the styward brought the kynge to the Castel of | Flynt / where he was taken and delyuerd to therle of Derby / | whiche bronght hym to london / And thenne were | taken at Brystowe Syre william scrope / Syr Iohan bussh / Sir | harry grene / & Syr Johan bagot / But Syre Johan bagot esca | ped / And the other that were take were byheded / And thus as ||
Begin *recto* of sig. 52 3. he was comyng to london warde / tydynges cam to the Cyte / | that kynge Rycharde was comen to westmynstre / And anon the | peple of london in their furye and wodenesse as peple maliciously | sette ageinst king Richard their soueraine lorde Roose and pur- | posed yf they myght haue founden to haue destroyed hym / | But the mayer and aldermen with the sadde men of the toune | with moche werke tourned hem hoome ageyne to london / yet they |

toke Syre Johan slake dene of the kynges chapel / and putte | hym in ludgate / and Syre Johan Bagot that escaped from bri | stowe was take in Jrlond and brought to london and sette in | newegate / Sone after this kynge Rychard was broughte to | the tour of london / and thenne was ther a parlement / Jn whiche | kynge Rychard was deposed of his Crowne / And kynge Hen- | ry chosen and taken for the kynge / to whome kynge Rychard re | sygned the Crowne and the Royamme of Englond / And thē- | ne from the tonr he was had to the Castel of ledes in kente / | And from thennes he was had to the Castel of Pountfret / |

Capitulum 9.

A.D. 1399. 13th October.

Henne the duc of lancastre Erle of derby named Henry | bolyngbroke was crowned kyng of englond at westmyns | tre on saynt Edwardes day Confessour· Thenne made the kynge | his oldest sonne henry prynce of wales / Duke of Cornewayle / | and Erle of Chestre / he made Syre thomas of Arondel Arche- | chebisshop of Caunterbury / as he was byfore / And he that was | made Archebisshop by kynge Rychard / he made hym Bisshop of | london / and he made the Erlis sonne of Arondel to be put in pos | session of all his londes / Jn the fyrst yere of his regne he hel | de his Crystemas at wyndesore / And on the tweluthe enen the | duk of Anmarle tolde the kyng how the duc of surrey / the Duc | of excetre / the erle of Salesbury & therle of gloucetre with other | of theyr affynyte were acorded to make a mommynge / to the | kyng and soo for to slee hym in the reuelynge / wherfore | the kyng the same nyght cam priuely to london / and anon these | lordes that had purposed to haue made this mommery vnderstode | that theyr counseylle was bewrayed / anone with theyr people | wente westward / And at Sysseter the Duke of Surrey and || the erle of Salesbury were taken and biheded & their heedes sette | on london brydge / and at Oxenforde were taken two knyghtes | bloūt / and sir benette Sely and wyntercele a squyer / whiche were | byheded and quartred and their heedes sette on london bridge / | and the quartres sente to other good townes / And at prithwell | in Estsex Sire Johan holonde Duck of excetre was taken with | the Comons of the Countreye / and his heede smyten of / and sente | to london and sette on london bridge / Also at Bristowe | was take the lorde spencer that was made by kinge Richard er | le of Gloucetre and biheded and his heede sent to london and sette | on londonbridge / Jn the same yere Sire Bernarde brokeis. Sir | Johan Selley / Syr Johan mawdelyn / and Syr william Fer | by were taken and sette in the tour / And after by Jugemente | were hanged and byheded / and theyr heedes sette on london brid- | ge /

Begin *verso* of sig. 52 3.

whanne kyng henry sawe that these lordes thus hadde rysen / | and assemblyd greete peple to haue putte hym to deth / and for to | restore kynge Rychard ageyne to his Crowne / and to his Ro- | yamme thoughte teschue suche peryls / Anone commannded Sir | Pyers of Exton that he shold goo strayte to pountfreyte / and | delyuer the worlde of kynge Rychard / And soo he departed | fro the kynge / and wente to the Castel of Pountfret / where as | kynge Rychard was in prysonne / the whiche was sette at table | for to dyne / And anone after Syre Pyers cam in to the cham- | bre where the kynge was / and eyghte men with hym / and eche | man an axe in his houd / Trouth it is whan the kyng sawe Sir | Pyers with his Felaushippe entre in to the chambre defensably | arayed / he shoof the table from hym / and sprange in the myddes | of hem / & raughte an axe oute of one of theyr hondes / and sette | hym self valyauntly at defence / And hym self defendynge he | slowe foure of the eyghte / And whanne the sayde Syre Pyers | sawe the kynge soo defende hym / he was soore abasshed and gre- | tely aferde / And forthwith sterte vpon the place / where as kyng | Rychard was wonte to sytte / And as kynge Rychard foughte | and defended hym self goynge bacwarde / the sayd Syre Pyers | smote hym on the heede with his axe that he fyll to gronnde / | Thenne cryed kynge Rychard god mercy / And thenne he gafe | hym yet another stroke on the A.D. 1400. heede / and soo he deyde / And thus | was thys noble kynge slayne and murthred / And whanne | the kynge was deede / the knyght that hadde thus slayne hym / | sette hym doune by the deede bodye of Kynge Rychard / Begin *recto* of sig. 52 4. And | byganne to wepe / saynge Alas / what thynge haue we doone / | We haue putte to deth hym that hath ben oure kynge and soue- | rayne lord two and twenty yere / Now haue J lost myn honour / | Ne J shal neuer come in place / but J shal be reproched / | For J haue done ageynste myn honour /

After this the | tweluest daye of marche was the bodye of the Noble kyng Ry- | chard broughte thurgh London to Powlus / whiche Corps | was leyd on a Charyotte coueryd with black / and foure ba- | ners / wherof tweyne were of the armes of saynt George / and | tweyne of the Armes of Saynt Edward / And there were an | honderd men clothed in black eche berynge a Torche / | And the Cyte of london hadde thyrtty men in whyte / Eche be- | rynge also a torche / And the Corps was leyd open the vysa- | ge that euery man myght see and knowe that it was hys body | and that he was soo deede / For many men byleuyd it not / | And from thennes he was caryed to the Frerys at Langley | and there he was buryed / On whoos sowle God haue mercy | Amen / The Comyn oppynyon of Englysshmen is | that kynge Rychard deyde not after the maner a foresayd / | But that he deyde otherwyse / That is to wete that whanne he | herde saye / that his brother the Duc of Excetre / the Duc of Su | rey / The Erle of Salysbury . and the other lordes were deede / | He was soo angry and soo sorowfull / that he swore that he wol | de neuer eete meete And soo abode foure dayes withoute etynge | as they saye / And . whanne that kynge Henry vnderstode that | he wolde not ete / he sent to hym two prelates for to comforte him | And whan they were come he confessyd hym to one of them / the | whiche gaf hym in penaunce that he sholde ete his mete / | And whanne he supposed to haue eten / the meete myght not goo | doune / ne auale in to his stomake / For the conduytes of his | bodye were shronken to geder / And thenne sayde the noble | kynge Rychard that it was done / aud that he muste nedes deye / | and soo he deyde , But certes whether he deyde this waye / or that | other / Certaynly he deyde / and was buryed at langley / God | haue mercy on his sowle / Amen / And thenne was kynge | Harry peasyly kyng / Thenne he fonde in kynge Ry- | chardes tresorye nyne honderde thousande noblis withoute Iewel | lys and vessels . whiche was as moche worth or more / And ther | was founden in the tresorers kepynge of Englonde an honderde || and fyfty thousand nobles / and Jewels and vesell as moche | or more / And thus kynge henry hadde alle his goodes / |

Begin *verso* of sig. 52 +.

Jtem This same yere kynge harry sente hoome ageyne kynge | Rychardys wyf Quene Jsabel vnto the kynge of Frannce her | fader / and putte her from her dowayre

Capitulum decimum

A.D 1400-1.

i N the seconde yere of kynge Harry the fourth Sire Rogy- | er of Claryngton knyght and two of his men / and the pri | our of launde with eyght Frere mynours were drawen and han | ged for treasonne / Jn this yere beganne a grete debate in | walys bytwene the lorde gray Rethyn and ewayn of Glyndor | Squyer of wales / This Ewayn reysed grete nombre of walssh- | men and kepte the Countrey with strength and dyde moche har- | me . and destroyed the kynges townes and lordshippes in walys | Robbyng and sleyng the kynges peple whiche contynued longe | tyme / And toke the lord Gray prysoner and made hym to marye | his doughter / And helde hym stylle there with his wyf / And so- | ne after the lord Gray deyde / Thenne kynge Harry with a grete | power wente in to wales / for to take and destroye the sayd E- | wayn / but he and all his company fledde to the montayns where | the kyng myght uot hurte hem for the montaynes / And soo the | kynge retourned and cam ageyne in to Englonde for losynge of | his men / Jn the same yere was a grete scarcete

of whete | in englond / a quarter was worth sixten shyllynges / wherfor mar |
chandise was sente in to normandy for whete / and from thennes | cam grete
plente / Also Syre william Sawtry preest was de- | graded of his presthode /
Aboute this tyme the Duc of Orleaunce | sente an herowde of Armes with
lettres vnto kynge Harry / by | whiche he chalengyd for to fyght with hym
withynne lystes at | Bourdeux / or in somme other metely place with an
honderd | Gentylmen withoute reproche ageynste as many Gentyll men |
withoute reproche / Wherto the kynge answerd ageyne by lettres | worshipfully /
rehersynge that at suche tyme as it shold plese | hym / he wolde come with
suche nombre as it apperteyneth to a | kynge / and conquere his ryght / At
whiche tyme he shold be an- | swerd atte full / And soo the mater fynysshed /
A.D. 1401-2. Jn the thyrde | yere was kynge henry wedded to dame Jane Duchesse of
Begin *recto* britain || And they were maryed at wynchestre / And fro thens she cam | to
of sig. 52 5. london / And so forth to westmynstre / And there she was crow | ned Quene / Jn
the same yere was dame blaunche oldest dough- | ter to kynge harry wedded
in Coleyn to the dukes sonne of bayer | with grete solempnyte / Jn the seuenth
yere was seen a sterre that | is called stella Comata / and anone after was the
A.D. 1403. batayl of shre | rewesbury on mary magdalens euen in whiche bataylle was
July 21st. sla | yne Syre Harry Percy / and Syr thomas percy taken and kept | two dayes /
and after he was hanged byheded and quartred and | hys heede sette on
london brydge / And in thys batayl was the | Prynce shotte in to the heede
with an arowe / And the Erle of | Stafford was slayne vnder the kynges baner /
And many other | lordes knyghtes squyers and Gentyls were put to deth in
A.D. 1403. the sa | yd bataylle / Jn the fourth yere cam the Emperour of Constan- | tynople
with many grete lordes and knyghtes in to Englond to | see the kynge / the
peple / and the Royamme / and the Commody- | tees therof / The same yere the
lord Castel with a grete multitu | de of Brytons & of normans landed a myle
out of Plymouthe | on Saynt Laurence day at after None and cam in to the
toune on | the bakhalf / and there they abode al that day and al that nyght |
till it was on the morne ten of the Clock and Robbed and despo | ylled al that
was in the toune / and bare hit awey at her owne | wylle / Jn the fyfthe
A.D. 1403-4. yere was a grete bataylle on the see atte | blackpole two myle oute of dartmouth
bytwene Englysshmen & | Brytons / where thanked be God Englysshemen had
the vycto- | rye / & there were take slayne & drowned moo than fyue honderd |
gentyls of Frensshe men and Brytons / On whome the lord cas | tel was
pryncipal leder and Capitayne whiche there was taken | and slayne / Also
this same yere william Serle / the whiche | was one of hem that murtherd the
gooed duke of Gloucetre at | Caleys was taken in the marche of Scotlande /

and broughte to | london and there he was drawen / hanged and byheded / and
his | heede sette on london brydge / and his quarters sette vp in foure | good
townes / Jn the syxthe yere was a Justys in Smythfeld | bytwene the Erle of A.D. 1404-5.
morryf in Scotland and Syre Edmond | Erle of kente vpon a chalenge made by
therle of morryf to Jus | te certayne courses of warre with sharp sperys on
borsbak / And | the Erle of kente had the felde / and gate hym there grete wor- |
ship / This same yere Syre Rychard Scrope Archebisshop of york | and the
lorde Monbraye that was Erle marchal of Englond || assemblyd grete power Begin *verso* of sig. 52 5.
ageynst kyng harry / And the kyng met | with hem and toke hem /and smote
of bothe theyr heedes / | And soone after god shewyd and wrought many
myracles for | this worthy Clerke Arclebisshop of yorke / that was soo putte |
to deth / Jn the seuenth yere the mayer of london Johan wodecok | and the A.D. 1405-6.
comynalte dyde do breke vp al the weerys that were by | twene medewey and
kyngeston / by cause they were sette ageynst | the fraunchyse of the Cyte of
london / Jn the eyght yere of kyng | henry dame lucye the dukes suster of A.D. 1406-7.
Melayn come in to En- | glonde / and soo forth to london / and there was she
ryally maryed | to Syr Edmond holand Erle of kent in the pryory of saynt ma |
rye ouerayes in southwerk / The same yere syr Robert knollys | knyght
a grete warryour in his tyme / dyde doo make the bryd- | ge at Rochestre and
a chapel atte brydges fote / the whiche Syre | Robert deyde and lyeth buryed
in the whyte Freres in London / | by his wyf dame Constaunce / Jn
the same yere Syr | Thomas rampston knyght constable of the tour of london
was | drowned at london brydge as he come fro westmynstre toward | the tour
in a barge / The same yere dame Phelyp the yon- | ger doughter of kyng
henry was maryed to the kynge of Den- | mark / Jn the same yere a man that
was callyd the walssh clerk | appelled a knyght callyd Syre Percyual of
treasonne / And | they fought with in lystes in Smythfeld / where the knyght
scom | fyted the Clerk / aud there the Clerk was despoylled of his ar- | mure /
and drawen oute of the feld to Tyburn and there hanged | Jn the same yere
Syr henry Percy erle of northumberlond and | the lord bardolf comyng oute
of Scotland to geder with a grete | company were taken by them of the north
that fought with them | and smote of theyr heedes and brought hem to london /
and sette | hem on london brydge / Jn the / ix /. yere was Syre Edmond | A.D. 1407-8.
Erle of kente made Ameral of the see / whiche kepte the see wor- | thyly with
many Ryall shippes / And atte laste he londed at the | Costes of Brytayne in
the Jle of Bryak / and besyeged the cas | tel / and sawted hit / and with
a quarel he was slayne / but neuer | theles the Castel was goten / And thenne
his meyne come home | ageyne with therles body whiche was buryed with hys

Annces | tryes worshipfully / Also this same yere was a grete Frost | that dured fyftene wekys / whiche frost destroyed for the moost | parte alle the smal byrdes /

Capitulum xj

Begin *recto* of sig. 52. 6.

his yere lowys Duc of Orleauns was slayn mescheuous- | ly at Parys atte Commaundement of the duc of Burgo- | yne / For it was soo that the duc of Orleaunce hadde ben to vy | syte the Quene / And as he retorned to his Inneward / certayne | personnes ordeyned by the sayd duc of Burgoyne laye in a way- | te / and fyll on hym and slewe hym cruelly smytynge the brayn | oute of his heede / And one of his gentylmen was slayne with | hym / wherfor on the morn was a grete counseyll / And the yates | of Parys were closed / And alle the grete lordes thenne beyng at | Parys were assemblyd / Among whome was the sayd duc that | commysed this murdre / and there was gyuen strayte commaun- | demente to the Prouost of Parys that he shold make strayte ser- | che to knowe who hadde cōmised this grete murdre / For as soone | as the murdres hadde slayne the duk / they sette an hous a fyre / | And whyle the people cam for to staūche the fyer / they had their | horses redy / and soo escaped and roode in to flaundrys / And on | the nexte daye whanne al the lordes were reassembled there was | moche axynge and serchyng . who myghte doo this murdre / | Thenne the sayde Duc of Burgoyne stode vp and sayde that he | hym self hadde doo putte hym to deth for certayne causes whiche | he wold Justyfye / and forthwith he departed oute of the counseil | and wente to his lodgyng / and toke his hors with a pryuy mey | ney / and rode strayt to lyle / and after cam al his other meyny / | and so departed he from parys / Wherupon after cam the duchesse | of Orleaunce his wyf the Dukes doughter of Melan with her | sonnes / and her oldest sones wyf suster to the kyng / whiche had | ben to fore quene of Englonde kynge Rychardys wyf / and re- | quyred humbly Justyce of the kynge / whiche thenne was in go- | de heele / and sate in the chayer of Justyce / To whome the kynge | sayde that he wold doo Justyce on them that commysed that hor- | ryble crysme on his seul and only broder / And they that sholde | veryly knowe it in al hast possible / Thenne after this the duc | of Burgoyn made requestys that he myght come to fore the king | and his counseyll for to Justyfye the deth of the duc of Orleaū· | ce / whiche was graunted / and soo cam with a grete Armye in to | Parys / And there to fore the Dolphyn and al the counseylle of | the kynges in playn parlemente by a doctonr of dyuynyte callyd | mayster Johan Petyte / he made his Justificacion / And after | at another daye assygned the duchesse of

Orleaunce dide by ano | ther doctoure of diuinite make a replicacion / And so
that mater || henge longe / whiche mater was occasion of Iufynyte sorowe in | Begin *verso* of sig. 52 6.
the Royamme of Fraunce / Aboute this tyme the counseylle | of Pyse was /
in whiche was bygonne the maner to make vny- | on in the chirche / but it
preuayled not / Jn the tenthe | yere cam the Seneschal of henawd wtth A.D. 1408-9.
many other gentil men | in to Englond for to doo armes and to geete honoure
and wor- | ship / The Seneschal chalengyd therle of Somersete And therle |
delyuerd hym manly of his chalengys and wanne thonoure of | the felde . / The
next day after cam in to the felde another man of | the Seneschallys partye /
& ageynst hym cam Syre Rychard of a | rondele knyght / And the Henewer
had the better of hym for he | brought hym on his knees The thyrdde day
cam in another | And ageyne hym cam Syre Johan Cornewayle knyght and |
manly quytte hym in the felde and hadde the beter of his aduersa | rye On
the fourth day cam in to the feld another Henewer | And ageynste hym cam
Syre Johan Cheynes sonne / and he cast | douue hors & man / And therfor the
kyng dubbyd hym knyght | The Fyfthe daye cam in another Henewer / And
to hym cam | Syre Johan Styward knyght / whiche quytte hym manly and |
hadde the better / The Syxthe daye cam another Henewer / | And to hym
cam william Porter Squyer / And he hadde the | better of the Henewer / and
the kynge dubbyd hym knyght | The seuenthe day cam in another Henewer /
And to hym cam | John standysshe Squyer / and he hadde the better / and the
kyng | dubbyd hym knyght / The same day cam another Henewer | and to
hym cam a squyer of Gascoyne / whiche hadde the better / | and was dubbed
knyght / The eyght daye cam in two He- | newers / And to hem cam two
Sowdyours of Calays / that we- | re bretheren whiche had the better in the
felde / And thus ended | this Chalenge with moche worship / The kynge thenne
fested the | straungers ryally / And at theyr dedartynge yafe hym Ryche yef |
tes / and soo they departed and wente home / Jn the enle- | uenth yere was A.D. 1409-10.
a batayll done in smythfelde bytwene two squy- | ers / One callyd Gloucetre /
And that other Arthure / whiche well | and manly foughte to geder longe
tyme / And the kynge for | theyr manlynes toke theyr quarel in to hys honde /
and made | hem goo oute of the felde to gyder attones / And soo they were |
dyuyded of theyr bataylle / And the kynge yaf hem grace / | This same
yere the Comons putte vp a bylle in the parlement to | the kynge as for the
temporalytees beynge in the handes of the || spirituelte . but ther was none Begin *recto* of sig. 52 7.
answer gyuen at that tyme / For | the kyng wold be aduysed / After Rupertus
Sygismnndus | was electe and chosen emperour this same yere / and was Empe|
rour seuen and twenty yere / This Sygysmundus was hynge | of hongary whiche

was a veray Crysten and meke man / also de- | uoute and hooly / aud after the opynyon of sommė persones wor- | thy to be canonysed / This was a special socour to hooly chirche | whiche he fonde sore afflycte and desolate by the scysme / but he | by his merueyllous wysedom and industrye socoured it gretely / | For he spared not hym self / ue his vnto the tyme that ther was | a veray and full vnyon in the chirche / He hadde nyne bata | taylles ageynst the turkes / whiche he al gate tryumphyng / what shal J saye more / but alle the lawde that hath be gyuen to Con- | stantyn / Theodosio / To Charles / To Ottone / and all other Em- | perours worthy to be preysed / maye surely be applyed to this Sy- | gysmunde / he was crowned of Eugenye /
After this | the royamme of Boheme was a grete parte destroyed by Sygis | munde / and the prynces of Almayne for the heresye of the hussy | tes / And the pope gaf oute a Croysye ageynst them / A Croy- | sye gyuen by the pope is whanne he giueth playne Indulgence to | them that make warre ageynste Hethen men / Turkes or herety- | kes / or them that be not obedyent to the chirche of Rome / Jn | the same yere Johan of badby a fals lollar and heretyke was | brente in Smythfeld / whiche byleuyd that the Sacrament was | was not goddes bodye /

Capitulum Duodecimum

A.D. 1410-11. N the twellyfth yere of kyng Harry was taken a Squyer | of wales that
hadde ben a rebelle and supporter of owen of | glyndor and he was Juged
to deth at london / where he was dra- | wen hangyd & quartred . & his four
quartres sette vp in four go- | de townes / and his hede on london brydge Jn
A.D. 1411-12. the thyrtenth ye | re of his regne deyde Sire Iohan Beauford Erle of Somersete |
Capytayne of Calays / And lyeth buryed in the Abbaye of the | Tour hylle /
The same yere cam the ambassatours of Fraunce | from the duc of Burgoyne
to the pryce kynge henryes sonne | for helpe and socour ageynst the duc of
Orleauuce / Thenne wen | te ouer / The Erle of Arondele / the Erle of kyme /
Begin *verso* of sig. 52 7. and the lord || Cobham with many other knyghtes /and squyers / and had a
gre | te retenew ageynst the duc of Orleaunce / And at sayntclo besyde | Parys
in Fraunce they mette and had vyctory of the Frenssh- | men / and of the
Armynaks / And the duc rewarded Rychely our | Englyssh men and they
come ageyne / Not longe after | the duc of Orleaunce sente Ambassatours
to kynge Harry to ha | ue helpe and socour ageynst the duc of Burgoyne . At
whiche ty | me the kynge made thomas his sonne duc of Clarence / And Jo | han
his sone duc of Bedford / And his sonne vmfrey Duke of | Gloucetre / Syre
thomas beauford Erle of Dorsete / And the duc | of Anmarle he made Duck

of york / Thenne he ordeyned the | Duc of Clarence / and the Erle of Dorsete / and Syre Johan cor | newayle with a grete retenue to passe ouer in to Fraunce to helpe | and strengthe the duck of Orleaunce / and thenne the lordes with | theyr retenue sayled in to normandye / And at theyr londynge | mette ageynste hem the lorde hambo with seuen thousand men of | Armes of Frensshemen / whiche were putte to flyght / and taken | of hem seuen honderd men of Armes of Frensshmen / and toke | many prysonners / And soo they rode forth thurgh Fraunce ta | kyng Castels and townes / and slewe moche peple of frensshmē | and toke many prysonners / And soo passed forthe tyll they come | to Bourdeux / there restyng them a whyle / And sette the coun-|ray in peas and reste / and thenne come home ageyne | Jn this yere the Coyne was lyghted both of Golde and of sil- | uer / and weyed lasse syn than it dyde before / Jn the / xiiij | yere of the regne of kynge harry ther were A.D. 1412-13. made galeys of warre | for the kynge purposed to haue passed the see / and soo forth vnto | Jerusalem / but god vysyted him with grete and feruent Infyr- | mytees / and on a day he was brought to saynt Edward Shryn | to make his offryng and to take his leue / And there beyng he be | cam soo seeke that they were about hym supposed he shold haue | deyd there / & thenne they toke & bare hym in to the abbots place | in to a fayre large chambre / and leyde hym vppon a Paylet to | fore the fyre· And whanne he was comen to hym self ageyne / | and wyst not where he was / he axyd of his Chamberlayn where | he was / and how the Chambre was callyd that he was Inne / | And he told hym that he was in thabbots place / and that the chā | bre was named Jerusalem / Thenne he sayde that his ty | me was come . and that it was prophecyed of hym / that he sholde dye in Ierusalem / and there disposed hym to godwarde and made || hym redy / & sone after deyde in the same chambre / Begin *recto* of sig. 52 8. On whoos sou | le god haue mercy Amen / Thenne was the bodye caryed | from thennes in a barge by water to Feuersham / And from | thennes to Caunterbury by londe / & there by saynt thomas shry- | ne in Cristys chirche he is buryed / Thus ended kyng harry the | fourth aboute myd lente sondaye in the yere of our lorde / a thou- | sand four honderd and twelue

Capitulum xiij

Fter kynge Harry the fourth regned harry his sonne bor | ne at monmouthe A.D. 1413. in walys / This Harry whiche was | the fyfth harry after the Conquest was a noble and wyse man / | For after his faders deth whanne he hadde take vpon hym to be | kynge / he chaunged al his Condicions and was sodeynly chaū- | ged and lefte al his old wyld maners and charged alle them / | that had ben conuersaunt in his wylde lyuynge that they shold | auoyde his presence and come no more therynne / | This man dyde many greete thynges in his dayes / and regned | not fully ten yere / For in the tenth yere of his regne and syx & | thyrtty yere of his age he deyde / and is bnryed worshipfully at | westmynstre / Jn his fyrst yere anone after he was crowned / | whiche was the nynthe day of Apryll / He sente to the Frerys at | langley where the body of kyng Rychard the second was bnried | and lete the body take oute of therth ageyne and dyde do bryng | it to westmynstre in a Ryal chare couerd with black veluet and | baners of dyuerse armes about / And alle the horses in the chare | were couerd with blac / and beten with dyuerse Armes / and ma | ny a torche brennyng by the chaar till they cam to westmynstre / | And there he lete make a ryal terment and buryed hym by que | ne Anne his wyf as his desyre was / Aboute whoos sepulcre | ther stande foure grete tapers contynuelly brennynge / And one | day in the weke perpetuelly he hath a Dirige with nyne lessons | And on the morne a masse / bothe by note solempnly on whiche | day is gyuen also wekely in pens to poure peple enleuen schyl- | lynges / & viij d / all ordeyned by this kyng vpon grete payne / | And on the day of his annyuersary is yerly gyuen twenty pond | in pens to pour peple / Also this kynge ordeyned by | his lyf and founded the chartrous at Shene / And the Begin *verso* of sig. 52 8. house of || Syon of saynt Brygyttes ordre / And dyde moche good to the | newerke at westmynstre where he lyeth buryed / and ordeyned | thre masses perpetuelly to be songen ouer hym dayly / & also cer | tayne lyghtes dayly to brenne atte hye masse and at euensong / & | twenty pound to be deled in pens yerly at his annyuersarye / Al | this ordeyned he by his lyue besyde all his warre in Fraūce and | other greete actes / On whoos sowle Jhesus haue mercy Amen / |

Also in this fyrste yere Syre Johan oldecastell lord Cob- | ham was take and dampned for an heretyk by al hooly chirche | and commyted to the tour · and from thennes he brake prysonne / | and escaped / And anone after he and his Complyses conspyre- | den the kynges deth and his bretheren / and also the destruction | of hooly chirche · For they hadde purposed to haue assemblyd by | nyght in saynt gyles felde for tachyeuyd theyr euyll purpose / | But blessyd be God the kynge and lordes had knowleche of | theyr entente / and toke the felde to fore them / and awayted on | theyr comyng and toke many preestes / clerkys / and other lewd | men that were of theyr secte fro alle the partyes of Englond / | wenyng to haue founden theyr Capitayne there Syre Johan ol- | de castel / bnt they were deceyued / For there were take many of |

them / and nyne and thyrtty were hanged on one daye vppon a | newe payr galowes new made fast by the same felde by the hye | waye / And senen of the gretteste heretykes were brente hangyng | on the galowes / And anone Syre Rogyer Acton knyght was | taken drawe and hanged vppon the same galowes for the same | cause / Jn the seconde yere of his regne byganne the generall | counseylle at Counstaunce for the vnyon of hooly Chirche / and | for to depose them that were Scysmatykes / and to chose one ve- | ray heede and vndubytate pope / Also the same yere Iohan Clay | don skynnar and Rychard baker of lombardstrete were breut in | Smythfelde for heresye / Also this same yere by thadnys of hys | counseyle the kynge sente lettres vnto the kyng of Fraunce that | he shold rendre & delyner to hym his enherytaunce / whiche his pre | decessours had holden and had to fore hym . or ellys he wolde doo | his deuoyre to geete it by the helpe of god and of his subgettys | with the swerde / To whome it was answerd that the kyng was | ouer yong and tendre of age to vse the warre ageynste hem and | in derysyon sente to hym a tonne full of Tenyse balles to playe | with And whanne the kynge vnderstode his answer / anone he | lete doo calle a counseylle / and there shewed them this mater / || mater/ And there it was concluded by the sayd counseylle | and in especiall by the spirituelte that he sholde goo and geete | normandye / and they wold helpe hym to theyr power / | Jt is sayde that the spyritualte fered soore / that yf he hadde not | hadde to doo withoute the londe / that he wolde haue laboured | for to haue taken fro the chirche the temporel possessions / | And therfor they concluded amonge hem self that they shold sti | re hym for to goo and make warre ouer see in Fraunce / for to | conquere his ryghtful enherytaunce / And soo it was concluded | and acorded that the kynge and lordes with al theyr power shol- | de mete at Southhampton at lammasse next after / |

A.D. 1414.

Begin *recto* of sig. 53 r.

And soo the eyghtenth day of Juyn the kyng roode thurgh lon | don with all his hooste ryally toward Southhampton / |

And there beynge redy for to passe and alle his lordes assembled | There was taken and arestyd for hye treasonne Syre Rychard | Erle of Cambrydge brother to the duc of york / the lord Sccope | Tresorer of englond / and Syre thomas gray knyght / which shol | de ymagyne the kynges deth / For whiche cause they were Iuged | and dampned to deth / And there the nyne and twentyest day of | Iuyll they were byheded / And thenne the kynge and alle the lor- | des with theyr armee toke the see with fyften honderd sayllys / | and arryued at kydkaws in normandy / And fro thennes went | and leyd syege to harflete by lande and by water / And leyd | his ordenaunce to the toune / And the twoo

A.D. 1414. and twentyest daye | of September the toune · was gyuen ouer to hym / | Thenne ordeyned he there capytayne his vncle the Erle of Dor- | sete / and putte oute the Frensshmen / and stuffyd it with englissh | men / Thenne the kynge sente in to Englond / and lete | crye in euery good towne that what crafty man wolde come the | der for to dwelle and enhabyte the toune there sholde haue hows | and houshold to hym and his heyres for euermore / | Thenne come theder many craftes men / and enhabyte them the- | re / The kynge seynge the toune wel stuffyd with vytaylle | and men / he passyd forthe by lande towarde Calays / |

Thenne the Frensshmen heerynge of his comyng brake the bryd | ges that he sholde not come ouer the Ryuer of Somme / . |

Thenne the kynge wente soo fer vpward / that he gate ouer | and cam in to Pycardye / And thenne were | the Frensshmen at Agyncourt Rolandcourt and blangy wyth | alle the Ryal power of Fraunce / excepte the Begin *verso* of sig. 53 r. duc of Burgoyne || whiche wolde not come theder / ne suffre his sonne the lord cha- | royles to come theder / And whanne the kynge sawe that he | myght not passe / he toke his felde with suche peple as he hadde / | whiche were not passynge seuen thousand fyghtynge men | And the mooste parte of hem were seeke of the flyxe / and the | yemanry hadde theyr hosen teruen or bounden bynethe the knee ha | uynge longe Iackys · But euery man had a good bowe a sheef | arowys . and a swerd Thenne he sette his felde / and sette | the duc of york in the vauntward / And ordeyned in the nyght | to fore the bataylle that eche man sholde make a stake sharp on | both thendes and pytche it a slope in the grounde to fore hym / | And soo on the morne he hadde his confessour that made hem to | saye a general confession / and gaf them general absolucion / | And thenne the kynge roode thurgh the felde and comforted | hem promysynge to them that he wold rather deye that day than | yelde hym / And thenne euery man toke good herte and courage | And soo abode the comynge of Frensshmen . whome they ressey- | ued on her stakys stoymblynge and fallynge donne hors and | man / Jn suche wyse that our men shotte on hem / and soo fought | that thurgh the grace of god the vyctorye abode with the kyng / | and the Frensshmen ouerthrowen / and were slayne of them en- | leuen thousande and moo / And many grete lordes and gentyls | take prysonners / And whanne the kynge hadde thus goten the | Felde / tydynges cam that ther was comynge a newe batayll of | Frensshmen towards hym / And thenne he dyde doo crye and co- | maunded that euery man shold slee his prysonners | And whanne the duc of Orleaunce herde that / and other greete | lordes / they sente worde to the Frensshmen / that yf they cam on | they shold be slayne / And thenne the Frensshmen for sauacion | of the prysonners lyues withdrewe them / And soo the kynge | hadde and kepte the felde / and wanne the worshippe of the bata- | ylle / And there were slayne in the felde thre Dukes / | Nyne Erlys / And barons nyghe an honderde / and Gentyl- | men in Cote armoure / xlv / C / And of the Englysshe | partye the Duc of yorke / and therle of Suffolke and not twen- | ty personnes moo blessyd be god / the duc of Braban was taken | a lyue / but whan the kynge commaunded that euery man shold | slee his prysoner · he was slayne / on whos sowle and alle other | god haue mercy Amen / Thus by the helpe of Almyghty God | the kynge of Englond with vij / M / Englysshmen wan the feld || vpon the Frensshmen whiche were nombred moo than foure sco- | re thousand men with all the ryall lordes of Fraunce except the | kynge and Dolphyn / And whanne al was done the kynge de- | maunded the herowdes the name of the next place to the felde / | And they answerde Agyncourt / Thenne sayd he we wille that | the bataylle be callyd and named the bataylle of Agyncourt / |

Begin *recto* of sig. 53 2.

Thenne the kynge kepynge the felde with his hoost al nyghte | after on the morne departed toward caleys with his prysonners. | That is to wete the Duck of Orleaunce / The Duck of Borbon / | the erles of Ewe and of vendon / Burcicaught the marchal of | Fraunce with many other lordes and Gentill men / whome he | brought alle in to Englonde with hym where he was receyued in | euery place worshipfully with alle the honoure Joye and So- | lempnyte that myght be / And the foure and twentyeste daye of | nouembre the kyng cam to london / and it is to wete that euery | Englisshman that had ben in that bataylle gate good prysoners | or good Jewellis For the Frensshmen were Richely and costlew | arrayed / wherof oure peuple had good pyllage / |

Capitulum 14

A.D. 1415.

N the thyrdde yere of his regne the emperour of Almayne | Sygysmund cam in to Englonde / and was receyued wor | worshipfully at douer ky the duc of gloucetre / And the Cyte of | london / as the mayer Aldermen and alle the craftes in the moost | best wise resseyued hym at blackheth / the senenthe daye of maye / | And at saynt thomas wateryng the kyng him self with his lor| dys mette him and welcomed him inthe moost goodlyest wyse / | And toke him by the honde / and · roode forthe with him thurgh | the Cite and offrid at powlis / and thenne rode forth vnto west | mestre / where the king lodged him in his owne palays / |

And there abode a grete whyle at the kinges coste / |

Thenne come the Duc of Holonde in to Englonde / whome the | king resseiued worshipfully / and lodged him in the Bisshop | of Elyes place in holburne / whanne the Emperour hadde seen | the manere of this londe and the commodytees therof / he was | electe and chosen to be a broder of the garter / whiche he toke and | receyued gladly / and ware it euer after / And thenne the || kynge brought hym to Calays / And theder cam to hym the | duk of Burgoyne for to doo hommage to themperour for the coū | te of alst in Flaundres / whome the kynge receyued worshipful- | ly / And thenne after themperour toke leue of the kynge / and de | parted / and soo eche toke leue of other and the kyng retourned | ageyne in to Englond / And the Emperoure wente to Zierixsee | in Zeland / and thenne vnto Dordrecht in holonde . |

Begin *verso* of sig. 53 2.

A.D. 1416. Jn the fourthe yere the duc of Bedford / therle of marche | and other certayne lordes with theyr retenue foughten on the see | ageynst seuen Carryks of gene / and fyfty other vessels as hul- | kes barges / galeys and galyetis / Of whome were taken thre gre | te carryks with the patrons . and drowned a grete hulke callyd | the black hulk of flaundres . And the remenaunt fledde aweye | and this was done on our lady day Assumpcion / |

Also this yere at a parlement holden at westmynstre was graū- | ted to the kynge an hoole fyftenthe / and a dyme to mayntene | with his warrys / And this yere the kynge sayled with al his | retenewe ouer see in to normandye ageyne / And londed on lam | mas daye at Toke / And there at landynge the kynge made | eyght and fourty knyghtes / And anone the kynge wanne the | Toune of Toke and the Castel withoute strooke / and he made | Syre Johan kygley Capytayne therof / And thenne the kynge | sent therle marchal vnto louers whiche they sawted / And anon | it was yolden / And therle brought the keyes to the kynge . and | the kyng delyuerd hym the keyes ageyne / and made hym Capy | tayn of louers / Thenne the kyng wente to Cane / and besyeged | it / and with a sawte entryd the toune and gate it / but the Cas- | tel helde / and the Capytayne desyred respyte of fourten dayes for | tabyde rescows / and yf none cam than to delyuere it / |

The kynge graunted it hym and vnder the same apooyntement | was the Cyte of bayows with other townes and fortresses vnto | the nombre of fourtene / vppon the hyll to fore the Castel of Cane | the kynge pyght alle his tentes and pauyllons whiche semed a | toune as moche as Cane / And whanne tydynges cam that | noo rescowes wolde come / at fourten dayes ende the Capytayne | delyuerd the keyes and Castel vnto the kynge / |

And in lyke wyse was bayons with other fourtene townes de | lyuerd also / Of
whiche townes and castels the kynge made the | duk of Clarence Capytayne
and gouernour / Jn cane the kyng | heelde his feest of saynt George / where
he made fyftene knyghtes || of the bathe . And thenne er he departed he Begin *recto* of sig. 53 3.
gate valeys | and sente the duc of gloucetre to Chyrburgh for to geete it / |
whiche he besyeged and lay long there / And thus the kyng sente | to dyuerse
townes / and gate dayly many townes / in soo moche | that he gate alle the
tounes Castels / Pyles / strengthes and ab | beyes vnto pount Alarche and fro
thens to Roan / |

Aboute this tyme yet contynued the counseylle of Constaunce | Jn whiche
was ended the scysme of fourty yere / and ther was | dampned the heresyes /
and two heretyks that is to wete Iohan | hus and Jherome were brente / And
many good thynges Insti- | tued and ordeyned / there was determyned decreed
by the hooly | synode that the counseyll lanfully gadred and assembled repre |
sentyng the chirche hath vnyuersal power inmedyatly of Cryst | To whome
euery astate as wel the papal astate as other is boū | den and holde to obeye
in tho thynges that toucheth the geueral | reformacion of the chirche that is to
wete in feyth and maners | al wel in the heede as in the membrys / Jtem that
from thenne | forth on sholde alwey the general counseyl be holden fro ten
yere | to ten yere . Jn this counseyll was chosen for to be pope | Martyn /
whiche was martinus quintus / and was pope fourten | yere / And three was
the vnyon whiche was desyred long y had | for the defence of the feyth / This
was a myghty Pope aboue alle | other / Ryche and a man of grete Iustyce / he
helde the stretes and | hye weyes sewrly and in pees / He destroyed heretyks /
he dyde | many goode thynges by helpe of the noble Emperour Sygys- |
munde / And for to recouer the holy lond / he gadryd moche | tresoure /
but by deth that cam vpon hym / it was lette / And a | lytel to fore his deth
ordeyned a general counseyll to be assemblid | in Basyle / Jn the fyfth yere of A.D. 1417.
Regne of kynge harry the | fyfthe Syre Johan old castel lord Cobham was
taken and con- | uycte by the clergye for heresye / and dampned to fore the
tempo- | ral Juges for tresonne / And soo he was drawen and hanged in | saynt
gyles felde vpon a newe payr of galows with a cheyne of | yron / and vnder
the galewes was made a grete fyre which bren | te galowes and alle / Jn
the syxthe yere the kyng | besyeged the Cyte of Roan / whiche endured half yere A.D. 1418.
and more | And atte laste the Cyte beyng in grete famyne putte oute moche |
peple as women and children whiche deyde for honger . moo than | thyrtty
thousand / & also seyng that noo rescowse cam appoynted | with the kyng &
gaf ouer the toun vnto hym which he receyued || And anone after that Roan Begin *verso* of sig. 53 3.

was goten deepe and many other | tounes in baas normandye gaf them ouer withoute strook or sye | ge whanne they vnderstode that the kynge had goten Roan /

Capitulum xv

Also this same yere hadde ben a pees made and sworne by- | twene the duc of burgoyne and the dolphyn / whiche were | sworn vpon our lordes body that they shold loue and assyste eche | other ageyust theyr enemyes / And after this contrary to this | othe / the Duc Johan of Burgoyne was slayne and pytously | murthred in the presence of the dolphyn / wherfore the Frensshe | men were gretely deuyded and of veray necessyte labouryd to ha | ue a traytye with the kynge of Englond / For the kynge of en- | glond waune dayly on them townes Castels and fortresses / Al | so this same yere was Quene Jane arestyd and bronght to the | castel of ledys in kente / And one Frere Randolf a doctour of di- | uynyte her confessour whiche afterward was slayne by the per- | son of the tour fallynge at wordes and debate / And afterward | Quene Jane was
A.D. 1419. delyuerd Jn the seuenth ye | re both kynges of Fraunce and of englond were acorded / and | kyng harry was made heyr and regente of Fraunce / And wed- | ded dame kateryne the kynges doughter of Fraunce atte Troyes | in Champayne on Trynyte sondaye / And this was made by the | meene of phelyp newely made duke of Burgoyne / whiche was | sworne to kynge harry / And for tanenge his faders deth he was | become englysshe / And thenne the kyng with his newe wyf wē- | te to parys . where he was ryally receyuyd / And from thens he | with his lordes and the duc of Burgoyne and many other lor- | des of fraūce leyd syege to dyuerse townes and Castels that hel | de of the dolphyns partye / & wan them / but the toune of melun |
A.D. 1420. helde long / for therin were good defendours / Jn the viij yere the | kyng and the quene cam ouer see & londed on candelmasse by the | morow at douer / & the xiiij day of feuerer the kyng cam to lon- | don / & the xxj day of the same moneth the quene cam / & the xxiiij | day of the same she was crowned at westmestre / Also the same | yere anon after eester the kyng helde a parlement at westmestre / | at whiche parlement it was ordeyned that
Begin *recto* of sig. 53 4. the gold in Englysshe || coyne shold be weyde and none resseyued but by weyght / | And anone after whitsontyde the kynge sayled to Caleys . and | passyd soo forth in to Fraunce / And in marche the two and twē | tyest daye byfore the kynge cam ouer / the duc of Clarence was | slayne in Fraunce / and dyuerse other lordes taken prysoners as | the erle of hūtyngdon the erle of Somersete with dyuerse other | And al was by cause they wold not take with

hem Archers / | But thought to haue doo with the Frensshmen them self
with- | oute them / And yet whanne he was slayn tharchers cam and re |
scowed the body of the duc whiche they wold haue caryed with | them . God
haue mercy on his soule / he was a valyaunt man . | And the same yere
bytwene Crystemasse and Candelmasse the | toune of melun was yolden to the
kynge / Jn the nynth | yere on saynt nycholas day in december was A.D. 1421.
born harry the kyn | ges first begoten sonne at wyndesore / whoos god faders
at font- | stone was harry . bisshop of wynchestre . and Johan duke of bed- |
forde / And the duchesse of holand was godmoder / and harry chy | chely
archebisshop of Caũterbury was godfader atte confermyng | And in the tenth A.D. 1422.
yere the Cyte of mews in brye was goten / | whiche had ben longe besyeged/
And this same yere the Quene | shipped at hampton / And sayled ouer to the
kynge in Fraunce / | where she was worshipfully receyued of the kyng / and
also of | the kyng of Fraunce her fader and of her moder / and thus kyng |
Harry wan faste in Frannce and helde grete astate / and sate at | dyner at
a grete fest in parys crowned & the qnene also / whiche | hadde not
ben seen to fore / and alle peple resorted vnto his courte / | But as to the
kynge of Fraunce he helde none astate ne rule / | but was lefte at moost
allone / / Also this yere | the whether cock was sette vpon
powlus steple at london / |

And this yere in the moneth of August kynge Harry wexe | seke at Boys
de vyncent | And whanne he sawe he sholde deye / | he made his testament .
and ordeygned many thynges nobly for | his sowle / and deuoutly resseyued
alle the ryghtes of hooly chir | che / in soo ferforth that whanne he was
enoynted he sayd the ser- | uyse with the preeste / and whanne the vers of the
Psalme / Mi | serere mei deus / &c / that was Benigne fac domine in bona vo- |
luntate tua syon vt edificeutur muri Ierlm was sayd / he bade | tarye there
and sayd thus O good lord thou knowest that myn | entent hath ben and yet
is yf I myght lyue to reedefye the wal | lys of Jerlm / and thenne the preest
proceded forth and made || an ende / And anone after this mooste noble prynce Begin *verso* of sig. 53 4.
and vycto- | ryous kynge flonr in his tyme of Crysten chyualrye / whome |
alle the world doubted gaf his soule in to the handes of God / | & deyde &
made an ende of his naturel lyf atte sayd Boys de | vyncent besyde parys / A.D. 1422.
the syx and thyrttyest yere of his age / on | whoos soule god haue mercy
Amen / Thenne was the bodye | embamed and cered and leyed in a ryall
chare / and an ymage ly | ke vnto hym was leyde vpon the Corps open wyth
dyuers ba- | ners and horse coueryd rychely with tharmes of Englonde and |
Frannce / And also the olde armes / as saynt Edwardys / seynt | edmonds and

other with grete multitude of torchys / with who- | me wente the kyng of Scotlande and many other lordes whiche | accompanyed the body till it cam vnto westmynstre by london in | Englonde / And in euery toune by the waye he hadde solempnly | his dirige / atte euen and masse on the morn / and moche Almesse | was gyuen to poure people / And the seuenthe daye of Nouembre | after / the Corps was brought thnrgh london with grete reueren- | ce and solempnyte vnto the monasterye of westmynstre / where as | he nowe resteth / on whoos Tombe is a Ryche ymage lyke hym | self of Syluer and gylt / where he is dayly remembrid and praid | fore / On whoos sowle and all Crysten god haue mercy Amen / |

Capitulum xvij

Capitulum xvj

h Ere is to be noted / that this kynge Harry the fyfthe was | a moche noble prynce after he was kynge and crowned / | How be it to fore in his yongthe he hadde ben wylde / Recheles / | aud spared no thyng of his lustes ne desyres / but accomplisshid | them after his lykynge / But as soone as he was crowned / eno | ynted and sacred / anone sodaynly he was chaunged in to a new | man / and set al his entente to lyue vertuously in mayntenyng | of hooly chirche destroyng of heretykes / kepynge Justyce / and de | fendynge his Royamme and subgettis / And for as moche as | his fader hadd deposyd by his labour the good kynge Rychard | And pytously made hym to deye / And for thoffence doo to hym | ageynst his lyegeaunce / he hadde sente to Rome to be assoylled | therof / For whiche offence the pope oure hooly fader enioyned | hym to make hym be prayd fore perpetuelly / and lyke as he had || done to be taken from hym his naturell lyf / therfore he sholde doo | founde four tapers to brenne perpetuelly aboute his body / that for | the extynction of his bodyly lyf / his sowle maye euer be remem- | bryd and lyue in heuen in spyrytuel lyf / And also that he shol- | de euery weke on the daye as it cometh aboute of his dethe haue | a solempne masse of Requiem / and on the euen to fore a dirige | with nyne lessons / and a dole to pour people alwaye on that daye | of enleuen schyllynges eyght pens to be delyd peny mele. | And ones in the yere at his annyuersarye his terment to be hol- | den in the moost honest wyse and to be deled that day twenty lī / | in pens to pour peple / and to euery monke to haue twenty schil- | lynges whiche alle these thynges performed this noble kyng for | his fader / For kynge harry the fourth his fader performed hit | not dnryng his lyf / whome as it is sayde god touchyd and was | a lepre er he deyde / Also thenne this noble Prynce leete | doo calle alle thabbottes

Begin *recto* of sig. 53 5.

and pryours of saynt Benets ordre in | Englond / & hadd them in the Chapytre hous of westmynstre for | the reformacion of thordre / wherynne he had comynycacian / and | also with Bisshoppes & men of the spyritualte / Jn soo ferforth / | that they doubted soore that he wold haue had the temporaltees | oute of their handes / wherfor by thaduis labour and procuryng | of the spyrytualte encouraged the kynge to chalenge normandy | and his ryght that he hadde in Fraunce / to thende to sette hym a | werke there that he sholde not seeke occasions to entre in to suche | maters / And soo alle his lyf after he labouryd in the warrys in | conquerynge grete parte of the Royamme of Fraunce / that by | thagrement of the kynge charlys hadde alle the gouernannce of | the Royamme of Fraunce / And was proclamed Regent and he- | yr of Fraunce / And soo not withstandyng alle this grete warre | that he had yet he remembryd his soule / aud also that he was mor | tal and muste deye / For whiche he ordeyned by his lyf the place | of his sepulcre / where he is now buryed and euery day thre mas | ses perpetuelly to be songen in a fayr chapel ouer his sepulcre / Of | whiche the myddel masse and the fyrst and the laste masse shal | be as it is assygned by hym as it appereth by thyse verses folo- | wynge /

Henrici misse quinti sunt hic tabulate
Que successiue sunt per monachos celebrate /
Die dm̃ca Prima sit assumpte de festo virginis alme /
Poscit postremam . Cristus de morte resurgens / ||
Prima salutate / de festo virginis extat / — Begin *verso* of sig. 53 5.
Feria ij Nunciat angelicis / laudem postrema choreis /
Esse deum natum / de virgine prima fatetur /
Feria 3 Comemorat natam / sic vltima missa mariam /
Prima celebretur / ad honorem neupmatis almi
Feria 4 Vltima conceptam / denunciat esse mariam
Semper prima coli / debet de corpore cristi
Feria 5 Vltima sit fata / de virgine purificata /
Condecet vt prima / celebretur de cruce sancta
Feria 6 Atqȝ salutate / fiet postrema marie /
Omnes ad sanctos est prima colenda supernos /
Sabbato Vltima de requie pro defunctis petit esse
Semper erit media de proprietate dei /

And yet this noble kyng harry the fyfthe founded two howses | of Relygion / One callyd Syon besyde braynford of the ordre of | saynt Brygytte both of men and wymmen / And on that other sy | de of the Ryuer of Tamyse an hows of monkes of the chartre- | hous in whiche two places / he is contynnelly prayd fore nyghte | and day / For euer whanne they of Syon rest / they of the char- | trehous done theyr seruyce / And in lyke wyse whanne they of the | chartrous rest the other goon to / and by the ryngyng of the bel- | lys of eyther place / eche knoweth whanuc they ende theyr seruy- | se whiche ben nobly endowed. and done dayely there grete almesse | dedes / as in the chartrehous certayne children ben founde to scole | and at Syon certayne almesse gyuen dayly / And yet besyde all | this he hath founded a recluse whiche shal be alwey a preeste to | praye for hym by the sayde chartrehous / whiche preest is wel & | sufficiently endowed for hym and a seruaunt / Loo / Here maye | all prynces take ensample by this noble prynce that regnynge so | lytel tyme not fully x yere / dyd so many noble actes / as wel for | his sowle to be perpetuelly remembryd & prayde fore. as in his | wordly conquestys / and he beynge in his moost lusty age despy- | sed and eschewyd synne / and was vertuous and a grete Iustyser | Jn soo moche that alle the prynces of Crystendom dradde hym / | & also of hethenes / And had determyned in hym self yf god wol | de haue sparyd hym that he wold haue warryd agayne the sara- | syns / and for to knowe the ayde of other prynces & all the passa | ges in that iourney he sent a knyght of henawd named syr hugh | de lanoye vnto Ierlm / but er he retorned he deyd at boys du vin | cēt in the / xxxvj / yere of his age / on whos soule god haue mercy ||

Begin *recto* of sig. 53 6.

How kyng harry the syxth regned beynge a childe not one ye- | re of age / and of the bataylle of vernoyl in perche /

Capitulum 17

A.D. 1422. Fter kyng harry the fyfthe regned harry his sonne a chil- | de and not fully a yere old / whoos regne began the fyrst da- | ye of september / the yere of our lord a thousand four honderd and | two and twenty / This kynge beyng in his Cradel was moche | doubted and dradde by cause of the grete Conqnest of his fader | and also the wysedome and guydynge of his vncles the duck of | bedford and the duc of gloucetre / This yere the xxj day of Octo- | bre deyde charles kyng of Fraunce / and lyeth buryed at saynt de | nys / and thenne was the duc of Bedford made regent of fraūce | And the duc of gloucetre was made protectour and defendour of | Englond / And the fyrst day of marche after was Syr wylliam | Tayllour preest degraded of his preesthode / and on the morne af | ter he was brente in Smythfeld for heresye / A.D. 1423.

This

yere | Syre James styward kynge of scottes maryed dame Jane the | duchesse
doughter of Clarence of her fyrst husbond therle of So- | mersete at saynt
mary ouerays Also this yere the seuententh | day of august was the bataylle
of vernayl in Perche bytwene | the duc of Bedford regent of Frannce and the
Duc of alaun- | son whiche was a greete bataylle / The duc of Bedford hadde on |
his syde with hym therle of Salesbury Mountagu the lord tal | botte and alle
the power that they coude make in normandy the | garnysons kepte / And also
many Capytayns with moche peple | of the duc of Burgoyns / And on that
other syde was the Duc | of Alaunson / the duc of Turon that was therle
douglas / therle | of Bougham with many lordes of fraunce / and greete
companye | of Scottes and armynakes / And thenne therle douglas callyd | the
duc of Bedford Johan with the leden swerde / and he sente | hym worde
ageyne that he shold fynde that daye that his swerde | was of stele / And soo
the bataylle ioyned on bothe sydes and | fought longe that ther wyst no man
who shold haue the better a | grete whyle / but at last as god wold the vyctory
fyll on then | glysshe partye / For ther were slayne therle douglas which a ly |
tel before was made duc of Turone / therle of Bowhayn . therle | of Almarre /
the erle of Tonnar / therle of vauntedore · and the || vyseconute of nerbonne Begin *verso* of sig. 53 6.
whiche was one of them that slewe duk | Johan of burgoyne knelyng to fore
the dolphyn and many mo | vnto the nombre of ten thousande and moo / And
ther was taken | prysonner the duc of alaunson and many other lordes and
gen- | tyls of Fraunce / but scottys that day were slayne doune ryght | the
substaunce of them alle / Jn the thyrde yere of kyng harry | the syxth / the A.D. 1424.
duke of gloucetre maryed the duchesse of Holond | and wente ouer see with
her in to henawde for to take possession | of his wyues enherytaunce / where
he was honorably receyuyd | and taken for lord of the lond / Bnt soone after he
was fayne to | retorne hoome ageyne | and lefte his wyf and his tresour that he |
brought with hym in a toune callyd mounse in henawd / whiche | promysed for
to be trewe to hym / Not withstandyng they deliuer- | de the lady to the dnc
of Burgoyne / whiche sente her to gaunt / | And from thens she escaped in
a mannes arraye / and cam in to | Zeland to a toune of her owue callyd
Zierixee / And from thens | she wente to a Toune in holond called the
Ghowde . And ther she | was stronge ynough and wythstode the sayd Dnc
of burgoyne / | and sone after this the duc of gloucetre sente ouer in to Zeland |
the lord fytzwater with certayne men of warre and Archers for | to helpe and
socour the sayd duchesse of holond / whiche londed at | a place in Zeland
callid Brewers hauen / where the lordes of the | coūtre cam doune and fought
with hym / and in conclusion was | fayne to withdrawe hym and his meyne

to the see ageyne / but | yet he slewe and hurte diuers lordes and moche peple of the coũ | treye / And soo retorned home ageyne and preuayled noo thyng |

Also this same yere therle of Salysbury / therle of Suffolke | the lord wylby / and the lord scalys with theyr retenue / leyd sye | ge to the Cyte of mauns / the whiche Cyte was yolden to them | in shorte tyme with many other stronge townes and Castels to | the nombre of syx and thyrtty / This tyme all normandye | and a grete parte of Fraunce vnto Orleaũce was vnder thobey | saunce of the kynge of Englond / And alle the remenaunt of | Fraunce was in grete trybulacion and myschyef / |

Capitulum xviij

A.D. 1425. Begin *recto* of sig. 53 7. N the fourth yere the same nyght that the mayer of london | iohan Couentre had taken his charge was a grete watche || in london for affraye that was bytwene the bisshop of wynches- | tre / and the duc of gloucestre protectour / For the mayer with the | peple of the Cyte wold abyde by the dnc of gloucetre as protec- | toure of the Royamme / but by labour of lordes that wente by- | twene / And in especial by the labour of the prynce of Portyn- | gale ther was appoyntement taken that ther was no harme don | And after the bataylle of vernoyll in Perche the Duc of Bed- | forde cam ouer in to Englond /
A.D. 1426. And on whitsondaye this yere at | leyceter he dubbed hynge harry knyght / And forthwith the sayd | harry dubbed alle these knyghtes / whoos names folowe / that is | to wete Rychard duc of york / Also the sone and heyr of the duc | of norfolk / therle of Oxenford / therle of westmerlond / the sone | and heyr of therle of northumberlond /the sonne and heyr of ther- | le of vrmond / The lord Roes / Syr James buteler / the lord ma- | trauas / Syr harry gray of Tankeruyle / Syr william neuyl lor- | de Fauconbrydge / Syr george neuyl lord latymer / the lord wel | lys the lord barkley / the sonne and heyr of the lord Talbot / Sir | Rauf gray of werk / Syr Robert veer / Syr Rychard gray / Sir | Edmond hongerford / Syr Robert Wynkefeld / Syre Johan | boteller / Syr Raynold Cobham / Syr Johan passhely / Syre tho | mas tunstal / Syr Johan Chydyock / Syre Rauf Langford / | Syre william drury / Syre william apthomas / Syre Rychard | Carbonel / Syre Rychard wydeuyle / Sire Johan shyrdelowe / | Syr nychol blonket / Syre Rauf ratteclyf / Syre Edmond traf- | ford / Syre william cheyne / Syre william Babyngton · Syre Io- | han Iune / Syr gilbert
A.D. 1427. beauchamp / Jtem / Jn the fyfthe | yere the duc of Bedford with the duchesse his wyf wente ouer | see to Calays / And a lytel tofore wente ouer harry Bisshop of | wynchestre / And on our lady day Annunciacion in our lady

chir- | che at Calays the Bisshop of wynchestre whanne he had songe | masse was made Cardynal / And he knelyng to fore the hye au | ter the duc of Bedford sette the hatte on his heede . and ther we- | re his bulles redde as wel of his charge as the reioysyng of his | benefyces spirituel and temporel / Also this yere was greete | habundaunce of Rayn / that the substance of heye and Corne was | destroyed / For it rayned almoost euery other day / This yere | the goode erle of Salesbury Syre thomas montagu leyd syege | vnto Orleaunce / At whiche syege he was slayne with a gonne / | whiche cam oute of the toune / on whoos sowle god haue mercy | Amen / For syth that he was slayne Englisshmen neuer gate ne || preuayled in Fraunce / but euer after beganne to lese lytel and | lytel tyl all was loste / Also this same yere a breton | murthred a good wydowe in her bedde withoute Algate / which | wedowe fonde hym for almesse / And he bare awey al that she | hadde / And after this he toke the gryth of hooly chirche at seynt | Georges in southwerke / and there toke the Crosse and forswore | this lond / And as he wente it happened that he cam by the place | where he dyde this cursyd dede in the subarbys of london / | And the women of the same paryssh cam oute with stones & ca- | nel dunge and slewe and made an ende of hym / Notwithstan- | dynge the Conestables and many other men beyng there present | to kepe hym / For ther were many women · and had noo pyte / | Also this yere the duck of norfolke with many gentilmen and | yomen toke his barge the eyght day of nouembre at saynt mary | ouerayes for to hane goon thurgh london brydge / and thurgh | mysguydyng of the barge / it ouerthrewe on the pyles / and | many men drowned / but the duc hym self with twoo or three leepe | vpon the pyles / and soo were saued with helpe of men that were | abone the brydge / whiche cast douue Ropes / by whiche they saued | hem self / This yere on saynt leonards daye kynge harry | beynge seuen yere of age was crowned at westmynstre / at whos | Coronacion were made syx and thyrtty knyghtes / |

Begin *verso* of sig. 53 7.

This yere on saynt georges day he passyd ouer see to Calays to- | ward Fraunce / Aboute this tyme and afore the Royamme be- | ynge in grete myserye and trybulacion · the dolphyn with his par | tye beganne to make warre and gete certayne places / and make | destrusses vpon Englysshmen / by the mene of his Capytaynes / | that is to wete la heer and poton de sentraylles / And in especial | a mayde / whiche they named la pucelle de dieu / this mayd roode | lyke a man / and was a valyaunt Capytayne among them and | toke vpon her many and grete enterpryses in soo moche that they | had a byleue to haue recouerd al theyr losses by her / Notwithstā | dyng at last after many grete

A.D. 1429.

feates by helpe and prowesse of sir | Johan luxemburgh whiche was a noble Capytayne of the du- | kes of Burgoyne / and many Englysshmen pycardys and bour | goygnons whiche were of oure partye / byfore the toune of Com | pyne the thre and twentyest daye of maye the sayd pucelle was | taken in the felde armed lyke a man and many other capytayns | with her / And all broughte to Roan / and there she was putte in | prysonne / and there she was Iuged by the Begin *recto* of sig. 53 8. lawe to be brente / || And thenne she sayd that she was with childe / wherby she was | respyted a whyle / but in Conclusion it was founde that she was | not with childe / And thenne she was brente in Roan / And the | other Capytaynes were putte to raunsonne / and entreated as | men of warre ben acustommed / This same yere aboute | Candelmasse Rychard hounden a wolle packer was dampned | for an heretyke / and brente atte tourhylle / And aboute midlente | Syr thomas baggely preeste and vycary of mauenden in Estsex | besydes walden was disgrated and dampned for an heretyke / | and brente in Smythfeld. Also in this yere while the | kynge was in Fraunce / ther were many heretykes and lollars / | that hadde purposed to haue made a rysyng / and caste bylles in | many places · but blessyd be god the Capytayne of hem was ta | ken. whoos name was william mandeuyle a weuar of Aben- | don and bayly of the same toune / whiche named hym self Iak | sharp of wygmoryslonde in wales / And afterwarde he was byhe | ded at Abendon in the whitsonweke / on the tewisdaye / |

A.D. 1429. This yere the seuenth day of december kynge harry the syxthe | was crowned kyng of Fraunce at parys in the chirche of oure | lady with grete solempnyte / There beyng presēt the Cardynal of | englonde / the Duc of Bedforde / and many other lordes of fraū | ce and of englonde / And after this Coronacion and grete feste | holden at parys / the kyng retourned from thens to Roan and | soo A.D. 1430. towarde Calays / And the nynthe daye of Feuerer londed | at douer / whome alle the Comyns of kente mette at beramdoun / | bytwene caunterbury and douer alle in reede hoodes / And soo | cam forth till he cam to blackheth where he was mette with the | mayer Johan wellys with alle the craftys of london cladde alle | in whyte / And soo they brought hym to london the one and twē | tyest daye of the same moneth / This yere was a restraynt of the | wollys at Calays made by the sowdyours / by cause they were | not payed of their wages / wherfor the duc of Bedford regente | of fraūce being thēne Capitayn cam to Caleis the tewsday in the esterweke / & on the morne after many sowdiours of the toun we | re arested / and putte in warde / And in the same weke he roode | to terewyn / And by the mene of the bisshop of Terewyn he wed- | ded therles doughter of saint poul / and cam ageine to Caleis / |

And the enleuenst daye of Juin on saint bernabes daye | there were foure A.D. 1430.
soudyonrs of Calays that were chyef causers | of the restraynt byheded / that
is to wete Johan maddeley / Johan || lundaye / thomas palmer / and thomas Begin *verso* of sig. 53 8.
Talbot / and an C x / | banysshed the toune that same tyme / And byfore were
banysshed | sixe score soudyours / And on mydsomer euen after cam the lord |
Regent and his wyf to london /

Capitulum 19

Boute this tyme Pope martyn deyde / And after hym Eu- | genye the A.D. 1431.
fonrth was pope / This was pesybly chosen in Ro | me by the Cardynals
and was very and Indubytate pope / | But shortly after he was putte and
expulsed oute of Rome / in | suche wyse that he was fayne to flee naked / Jn
this tyme | was the counseylle of basyle / to whiche counseylle he was cyted |
to come / and bycause he cam not they deposed hym / but he rought | not ne
sette not therby / but gate the Cyte of Rome. and abode stil | pope seuentene
yere / This yere aboute whitsontyde the He- | retyks of praghe were
destroyed / For at two iourneyes were des | troyed of them moo than twoo
and twenty thousande with her | Capytayns / that is to wete Procapius /
Saplico / and lupus pres | biter / Also ther was taken a lyue mayster
Pyers clerk | an Englysshman and heretyke / Also this same yere was a grete |
froste and a stronge dnryng enleuen wekes / For it beganne on | saynt katheryns
euen / and lasted vnto saynt Scolasticais day in | Feuerer in which tyme the A.D. 1432.
vyntage that cam from bordeux cam | ouer shoters hylle / This yere was the
counseyl of Aras and a | greete traytye bytwene the kyng of Englonde and
the Frensshe | kynge / where was assemblyd grete many of lordes of bothe
par | tyes / At whiche counseylle was offryd to the kyng of Englond | many
grete thynges by the moyen of a legate that cam from ro- | me / whiche was
Cardynal of saynt Crosse / whiche offres were | refused by the Cardynal of
Englond and other lordes that we- | re there for the kyng / wherfor the duke
of bnrgoyne whiche had | ben longe Englysshe sworne forsoke oure partye /
and retourned | Freusshe by the meene of the same legate / and made a pees
with | the Frenssh kyng receyuynge of the kynge for recompensynge of | his
faders deth the counte of pontieu / the lordship of macon | with moche other
as is specyfyed in the sayd trayttye / And soo | oure ambassadours cam hoome
ageyne in werse caas than they | wente / For they lost there the duc of
Burgoyne / whiche hadde || ben with his bourgonyons and pycardes a synguler Begin *recto* of sig. 54 1
helpe in all | the conquest of normandy and of Fraunce / This same yere was |

a grete batayll on the see bytwene the Jeneweys and the kyng | of Aragon / of whiche bataylle the Jeneweys had the vyctorye / | For they toke the kyng of Aragon / the kyng of nauern / and | the greete mayster of saynt James in galyse with thre honderd | knyghtes and squyers and moche other peple / And this was | on saynt domynyks day · This yere were seen thre sonnes attones | And anone folowyd the threfolde rule and gouernaunce in the | chirche / that is to wete / of Eugenye / of the counseyle / and of the | neutralyte / Also this
A.D. 1434. same yere 1434 was a passyng grete wyn | de by whiche steples howses and trees were ouerthrowen / |

Aboute this tyme was an hooly mayde in holond callyd lydwith | whiche lyued longe only by myracle not etyng ony mete / |

This yere the duc of burgoyne byganne his ordre at lyle of the | golden flyes · and ordeygned certayne knyghtes of thordre / and | made statutes and ordenaunces · moche acordynge vnto thordre of | the garter. Also this yere the Frensshmen hadde enterprysed to | haue stolen Calays in the fysshyng tyme / For many bootys of | Fraunce had sauf conduytes to come to Calays for to take hee- | ryng / And the soudyours of the toune hadde a customme to come | to the chirche and leue theyr stauys stondynge at the chirche dore | whiche stauys the Frensshmen which were arayd lyke Fysshers | hadde purposed to haue taken soo theyr wepen / and wynne the | toune / but one of them laye with a comyn woman the nyght by | fore / and tolde to her theyr counseylle / And she on the morne told | the lyeutenaunt / whiche forth with commanded that euery man | shold kepe his wepen in his hond sacryng tyme and other / | And whanne they apperceyued this that they were myspoyn- | ted / they sayled strayte to depe and stale and toke that Toune / | And on newyers euen after they toke harflete /

And thus Englysshmen byganne to lose a lytel and a lytel in | Normandye /

Capitulum visesimum /

A.D. 1436. tHis yere was a grete noyse thurgh al Englond / how the | duck of Bourgoyne wolde come and besyege Calays / | wherfore the Erle of
Begin *verso* of sig. 54 1. mortayn with his Armye that he hadde || for to haue goone with in to fraunce was countremaunded and | charged that he shold go to calais . whiche was at that tyme wel | vitailled and manned / For sire Johan Ratclif was lyeutenāt | of the kinge in that toune / and the baron of dudeley lyeutenaũt | of the castel / and the nynthe daye of Juill the duke of Burgo- | yne with al the power of Flaundres and moch other peple cam | before calais and sette his

syege aboute the toune / and euery tou- | ne of Flaundres had their tentes by
them self / And this syege en | dured thre wekes / Jn the mene while the duc
of gloucetre beyng | protectour of englond toke the moost parte of the lordes
of En- | glond and wente ouer the see to Calays for to rescowe the toun | or to
fyghte with the duke and his hoost yf they wolde haue by- | den / This tyme
london and euery good toune of Englond sente | ouer see to this rescowe
certayne peple well arayd of the best aud | chosen men for the warre / And
the second day of August the sa- | yd duke of gloucetre arryued at Calays with A.D. 1436.
alle his armye / | and fyue honderd shippes and moo / And the duke and alle
his | hoost that laye in the syege as sone es they espyed the sayllys in | the
see / byfore they approched calays hauen / sodaynly in a mor- | nynge departed
fro the syege / leuyng behynde them moche stuffe & | vytaylle / and fledde in
to flaũdres and pycardye / and in lyke | wyse dyde the syege that laye to fore
guynes / where as they of | guynes toke the grete gonne of brasse whiche was
callyd dyge- | on / and many other grete gonnes and serpentyns / And thenne |
whanne the duke of gloucetre was arryued with all his hoost / he | wente in to
flaundres and was therynne enleuen dayes / and dy- | de but lytel harme / excepte
he brente two fayr vyllages poperyng | and belle / and other howses whiche
were of no strengthe / and soo | retornrned home ageyne / Also this same yere
the kyng of scottys | besyeged Rokesburgh with moche peple / but sir Rauf
gray depar | ted for the castel / and ordeyned for rescows / but as sone as the |
kynge vnderstode his departyng / be sodaynly brake his syege / | and wente
hys weye leuynge moche ordenaunce behynde hym / | where he gate noo
worship / This yere the second daye | of Ianyuer quene katheryn A.D. 1437.
whiche was the kynges moder and | wyf to kynge harry the fyfthe deyde and
departed oute of thys | worlde / and was brought ryally thurgh london / and
soo to | westmynstre / and there lyeth buryed worshipfully in oure la- | dy
chapel / Also this same yere the fourtenthe daye of Janyuer || fyl doune the Begin *recto* of sig. 54 2.
gate with a toure on hit on london brydge toward | southwerk with twoo
arches /and all that stode theron / This | yere was a grete trayttye holden
bytwene grauenyng and ca- | lays bytwene the kyng and ducke of burgoyne /
where for the | kyng was the Cardynall of Englond the duck of Norfolke & |
many other lordes / and for the ducke was the Duchesse hauyng | full power
of her lord / as regent and ladye of his londes / where | was taken by thaduys
of bothe partyes an abstynence of warre | for a certeyne tyme in the name of
the Duchesse / and not of the | duke / by cause he hadde goon from his oth
and lygeaunce that he | had made to kyng harry / therfor the kynge neuer
wolde wryte | ne appoyute ne haue to do with hym after / but all in the

duches- | se name / Also this yere quene Jane deyde / the second daye of | Jnyll / whiche had ben kynge harry the fourthys wyf / and was | caryed fro bermondesey vnto Caunterbury where she lyeth bury- | ed by hynge harry the fourth her husbond / This yere deyde alle | the lyons in the toure of london / the whiche hadde not be seen in | many yeres byfore / oute of mynde

Capitulum 21

A.D. 1437. IN the xvj yere of kyng harry deyde Sygysmūd Emperour | of almayne and knyght of the garter / whos terment the | kynge kepte at pawlys in london ryally / where was made a ry- | al herse / and the kynge in his astate cladd in blewe was at euen | at dirige / and on the morne at masse / And after hym was elect | & chosen Albert duke of ostryche whiche had wedded Sygys- | mundus doughter for to be Emperour / This was taken and res- | seyued to be kyng of boheme & vngary by cause of hys wyf that | was sigismundus doughter whiche lefte after hym none other he | yer This albert was emperour bnt one yere / for he was poysond | and soo he deyde / somme saye he deyde of a flyxe / but he was a ver- | tuouse man and pytefulle / soo moche that alle the peple that | knewe hym sayde that the worlde was not worthy to hane hys | presence / Jn this yere was the kynge of scottys murthred in his | chambre by nyght pytously whiche kynge had be prysoner xv ye | re in englonde / And they that slewe hym were taken afterward | & had cruel iustyce / this yere one owayn a squyer of wales a mā | of lowe byrthe / whiche had many a day to fore secretely weddyd | quene katheryn & had by her thre Begin *verso* of sig. 54 2. sones / & a doughter was taken || and commaunded to newgate to prysonne by my lord of glouce- | tre protectonr of the Royame / And this yere he brake pryson by | the mene of a preest that was his chappelayn / and after he was | taken ageyne by my lord bemond / and brought ageyne to newe | gate / whiche afterward was delyuerd at large / and one of his | sones afterward was made Erle of rychemōd / & another erle of | penbroke / and the thyrde a monk of westmynstre / whiche monke | deyde sone after / This yere also on newyers day at baynardyscas- | tel fyl doune a stak of wode sodeynly at after none / and slewe | thre men meschyuously and foule hurte other / Also at bedford | on a shyreday were eyghten men murthred / withoute stroke by | fallynge doune of a steyr / as they cam oute of theyr comyn halle | and many foule A.D. 1440. hurte / Jn the eyghtenth yere sir rychard beau- | champ the good erle of warwyck deyde at Roan / he beynge that | tyme lyeutenaunt of the kynge in normandye / and from thennes | his bodye was brought to warwyk / where he lyeth worshipfully | in a newe chapel on the south syde of the quyre / Also this | yere was a greete derthe of Corne in al englond / For a busshel | of whete was worth fourty pens in many places of Englond / & | yet men myght not haue ynowgh / wherfor steuen broun that ty- | me mayer of london sente in to pruse / and brought to london cer- | tayne shippes laden with rye / which easyd and dyd moche good | to the peple / For corne was soo skarce in Englond that in some | places of englond poure peple made hem brede of fern rotes / | This yere the general counseyle of basyle deposed pope eugenye | And they chese felyx whiche was duc of sauoye / And thenne | byganne the scysme / whiche endured vnto the yere of our lord a | M C C C C & xlviij / This felyx was a deuoute prynce / and sa- | we the sones of his sones / and after lyued a deuoute and hooly | lyf / And was chosen pope by the counseyllr of basyle / eugenye de | posed / and soo the scysme was long tyme / and this felyx had not | moche obedyence bycause of the neutralyte / for the moost parte | and wel nygh al cristendom obeyed & reputed eugenye for veray | pope / god knoweth who was the veray pope of them both / for both | occupyed durynge the lyf of eugenye / This yere Syr Rychard | wiche vycary of hermettesworth was degrated of his prysthode / | at powlys / and brente at toure hylle as for an heretyk on saynt | Botulphus day / how wel at his deth / he deyde a good crysten man | wherfore after his dethe moche people cam to the place / | where he hadde be brente / and offryd and made a heepe-|| of stones / and sette vp a crosse of tree and helde hym for a saynt | till the mayer and shreues by commaundement of the kynge and | bisshops destroyed it / and made there a donghyll. Also this same | yere the shreues of london fette oute of saynt martyns the graũte | the sayntuarye fyue personnes / whiche afterward were restored | ageyne to the sayntuarye by kynges Iustyces / After Alberte | the thyrde Frederyk was chosen Emperour / This Frederyk duke | of ostryche was longe Emperour / and differyd for to be crowned | at Rome by cause of the scysme / but after that vnyon was had | he was crowned with Imperyal dyademe with grete glorye and | tryumphe of pope nycholas the fourth / This was a man pesyble | quyete and of syngnler pacyence / not hatyng the chirche · he wed- | ded the kyng of portyngales doughter / Begin *recto* of sig. 54 3.

Capitulum 22

N this yere dame Elyanore Cobham duchesse of gloucetre / | was arestyd for certayne poyntes of treasonne leyd ageyn | her / wherupon she was examyned in saynt steuens chapel at west | mynstre byfore tharchebisshop of A.D. 1440.

Caunterbury / and ther she was | enioyned to open penaunce for to goo thurgh
chepe berynge a ta- | per in her honde / and after to perpetuel prison in to the
Ile of man | vnder the kepynge of sir thomas stanley / Also that sa- |
me tyme was arestyd mayster thomas southwel a chanō of west | mynstre
mayster John hum a chappelayn of the sayd ladyes / | mayster Rogyer
bolyngbroke a Clerk vsynge nygromancye / |

And one margery Jurdemayn callyd the wytche of eye besyde | westmynstre /
These were arestyd as for beyng of counseyll with | the sayd duchesse of
gloucetre. And as for mayster thomas south | wel he deyde in the toure the
nyght before he shold haue be reyned | on the morne / For soo he sayd hym
self that he shold dye in his | bedde and not by Justyce / And in the
A.D. 1441. yere twenty | mayster Johan hum and mayster Rogyer Bolyngbrooke were |
brought to the guydhalle in london / and ther byfore the mayer / | the lordes
and chyef Justyce of Englond were rayned and | dampned to be drawen
hanged and quartred. but mayster John | hum had his chartre and was
pardoned by the kynge. bnt mays | ter Rogyer was drawen to Tyburne / where he
confessyd that he | yde gyltles and neuer had trespaced in that he deyd fore / ||
Begin *verso* of sig. 54 3. Notwithstandyng he was hanged heded and quartred / on whos | soule god haue
mercy / And margery Jurdemayne was brente | in Smythfeld / Also
this yere the lord Talbotte | had leyde syege to dyepe / but the Dolphyn
rescowed it / and wan | the bastyle that Englysshmen had made Also this
A.D. 1442. yere was | a greete effraye in fletestrete by nyghtes tyme bytwene men of |
Courte and men of london / and dyuerse men slayne and somme | hurte / and
one herbotel was chyef cause of the mysgouernaunce | and effraye / Also
this yere at the chesyng of the mayer | of london the Comons named
Robert Clopton and Rawlyn ho- | lond Taylour / And the Aldermen toke
Robert clopton & brought | hym at the ryght honde of the mayer / as the
customme is / | And thenne certayne tayllours and hande crafty men cryed
A.D. 1443. nay | naye not this man / but rawlyn holonde / wherfor the mayer that |
was padysley sente tho that soo cryed to newgate / where they a- | bode
a grete while and were punysshed / Jn this yere | were dyuerse
ambassadours sente in to Guyan for a maryage | for the kynge for the
erles doughter of Armynak · whiche was | concluded / but by the mene of
therle of Suffolk it was lette & | put a part / And after this the sayd erle
of Suffolk wente ouer | the see in to Frannce / And there treated the maryage
bytwene | the kynge of Englond and margarete the kynges doughter of | Secyle
and of Ierusalem And the next yere it was conclu | ded fully that maryage /
by whiche maryage the kynge shold de- | lyuer to her fader the Duchye of

Angeo . and the Erldome of | mayne whiche was the keye of normandye / Thenne departed the Erle of Suffolke with his wyf and dy | uerse lordes and knyghtes in the moost ryal astate that myghte | be oute of Englonde with newe chares and palfrayes / whiche | wente thurgh chepe / and soo wente ouer the see / and resseyued | her / and syth brought her in the lente after to hampton / where | she landed and was ryally resseyued / And on Candelmasse | euen byfore by a greete tempeste of thonder and lyghtnyng at | after None / Paulus Steple was sette a fyre on the myddes | of the shafte in the tymbre / whiche was quenchyd by force of la | boure / and specially by the laboure of the morowe masse preeste | of the bowe in chepe / whiche was thought Inpossyble / sauf only | the grace of god / This yere was the erle of stafford made | and create Duke of Bokyngham / the Erle of warwyck / Duk || of warwyck / therle of dorsete / marquys of dorsete / and the erle | of suffolk was made marquys of suffolk /

Begin *recto* of sig. 54 4.

Capitulum 23 /

A.D. 1444.

i N this yere kyng harry maryed at southweke quene mar- | grete / And she cam to london the eyghtenth day of maye / | And by the waye alle the lordes of englonde resseyued her wor- | shipfully in dyuerse places / and in especial the duc of gloucetre | And on blackheth the mayer Aldermen /and alle the craftes in | blewe gownes browdred with the deuyse of his crafte that they | myghte be byknowen / mette wyth her with reede hoodes / And | brought her to london / where were dynerse pagentis and counte- | naunces of dyuerse historyes shewyd in dyuerse places of the cy | te ryally and costlewe / And the thyrttyest daye of maye the sayd | quene was crowned at westmynstre / And there was Justys | thre dayes duryng within the sayntuarye to fore thabbay / / | This yere the pryour of kylmayn appeled therle of vrmond of | treasonne / whiche hadde a day assygned to them for to fyghte in | Smythfeld / and the lystys were made and feelde dressyd / But | whanne it cam to poynt the kynge commaunded that they shold | not fyghte / but toke the quarels in to his owne honde / and this | was doone . at the Instaunce and labour of certayne prechours & | doctours of london as mayster gylbert worthyngton parson of sa- | ynt Andrews in holborne and other / Also this yere cam a | grete ambassate in to englonde onte of Fraunce for to haue con- | cluded a perpetuel pees / but in conclusion it torned vnto a triews | of a yere Aboute this tyme deyde saynt bernardyn a gray | frere whiche beganne the newe reformacion of that ordre in many | places / in so moche that they that were reformed ben callyd ob- | seruauntes / whiche obseruauntes ben encreaced gretely in Jta | lye and in almayne / This Bernardyn was ca- | nonysed by pope nycholas the fyfthe in the yere thonsand foure C | and fyfty / Johannes de capestrano was his disciple / whiche pro | uffyted moche to the reformacion of that ordre / for whome God | shewyd many myracles also / Here is to be noted that from this | tyme forward kyng harry neuer prouffyted ne wente forward / | but fortune beganne to tourne from hym on all sydes / as well in | Fraunce / normandye / guyan / as in Englonde / Somme men || holde oppynyon that kyug harry gaf commyssion plenerly to sire | Edward hulle Syre Robert roos / the dene of saynt seneryns & | other to conclude a maryage for hym with therle of Armynaks | suster / whiche was promysed as it was sayd and concluded / | But afterward it was broken / for by the mene of the marquys | of Suffolke it was broken / And he wedded Quene margrete | as a fore is said / whiche was a dere maryage / for the Royamme | of Englonde / For it is knowen veryly that for to hane her was | delyuerd the duchye of angeo / and the erldom of mayne / which | was the keye of normandy for the Frensshmen tentre / And a- | boue this the sayd marquys of Suffolke axyd in playne parle | ment a fyftenth and an half for to fetche her oute of Frannce / | Lo what a maryage was this / as to the comparysone of that o- | ther maryage of Armynak / For ther sholde haue ben delyuerd | so many castels and townes in Guyan / and so moche good shol- | de haue ben youē with her / that all englond shold haue ben therby | enryched / but contraye wyse fylle / wherfore euery greete prynce | ought to kepe his promyse / For bycause of brekyng of this pro | myse / and for maryage of quene margrete what losse hath hadde | the Royamme of Englond / by losyng of normandye and guy- | an by dyuysion in the Royame / the rebellyng of Comons ayenst | theyr prynce and lordes / what dyuysyon among the lordes / what | murdre & sleyng of them / what feldes foughten & made / |

Begin *verso* of sig. 54 4.

Jn conclusionthat many a man hath lost his lyf / the kyng | deposed the quene with her sone fayne to flee in to scotland / | and from thens in to Fraunce / and so to lorayn the place that she | cam first fro / Many men deme that the brekyng of the kynges | promyse to the suster of therles of Armynack was cause of this | grete losse and aduersyte.

Capitulum 24

A.D. 1446.

N the yere xxv. of kynge harry was a parlement at bury | callyd saynt edmondes burye / abonte whiche was comman- | ded alle the comyns of the countre to bee there in theyr moost defen | sable araye for to awayte vppon the kyng / To whiche parlement | cam the duc of gloucetre hunfreye the kynges vncle / whiche hadd | ben protectour of englonde alle the non age of the kyng / And | anone after he was in his lodgyng he was arestyd by the vyse || counte bemonde the conestable of Englonde / whome accompanyed | the duc of Bokyngham and many other lordes / And forthwith | alle his seruauntes were comaunded for to departe fro hym / and | two & thyrtty of the chyeeff of hem were also arestyd and sente | to dyuerse prysons · And v or vj dayes after this sayd arest / | the sayd duke was deede / on whoos sowle god haue mercy / | But how he deyde and in what manere the Certaynte is not to | me knowen / Somme sayde he deyde for sorowe / somme sayde he | was murthred bytwene two fetherbeddes / other sayd that an ho- | te spyt was putte in his fundament / but how he deyde god kno- | weth / to whome is noo thynge hydde / And thenne whanne he | was soo deed / he was leyd open that al man myght see hym | And so both lordes and knyghtes of the shyres with bourgeyses | cam & sawe hym lye deede / but wounde ne token coude they not | perseyue how he deyde / Here maye men marke what this world is | This duk was a noble man and a grete clerke / and hadde wor | shipfully ruled this Royamme to the kynges behoef / and neuer | coude be founde fawte with hym / but enye of them that were go | uernours / and hadde promysed to delyuer the Duchye of An- | geo & the Erldome of mayn caused the destruction of this noble | man / For they drad hym that he wolde haue enpesshyd that dely | uerance / And after they sente his body to saynt Albons with cer | tayne lyghtes for to be buryed . And soo Syre geruays of clyf | ton hadde than the charge to conueye the corps / And soo it was | buryed at saynt albons in thabbay / And fyue persones of his | houshold were sent to london / and ther were rayned and Iuged | to be drawen hanged and quartred / of whome the names were | Syre Rogyer chamberlayne knyght and myddleton Squyer / her | bard a squyer arthur a Squyer / and Rychard Nedham whiche | fyue personnes were drawen from the tour of london thrugh che | pe vnto Tiburne / and there hanged and lete doune quyck / and | thenne strypt for to haue ben heded and quartred / And thenne | the marquys of Suffolk shewyd ther for them the kynges par | don vnder his grete seal / and soo they were pardonned of the re- | menaunt of the execucion and had theyr lyues / And soo they | were brought ageyne to london / and after frely delyuerd / | Thus beganne the trouble in englond for the deth of this noble | duke / Alle the comons of the Royamme beganne for to murmu- | re and were not content / After that pope Eugenye was deed ny | cholas the fyfth was electe pope / This nycholas was chosen || for Eugenye yet hauyng the scisme / Notwithstondyng he gate the | obedyence

Begin *recto* of sig. 54 5.

A.D. 1447.

Begin *verso* of sig. 54 5.

of all cristen Royammes / For after he was electe and | sacred pope / Certayne lordes of Fraunce and of Englond weere | sente in to sauoye to pope Felyx for to entreate hym to cesse of the | papacye . And by the specyall labour of the bisshop of norwyche / | and the lord of saynt Johans he cessyd the second yere after that | Nycholas was sacred / and the sayd Felyx was made legate of | Fraunce and cardynal of sauoye / And resygned the hoole papa- | cye to nycholas / and after lyued an hooly lyf and deyd an holy | man / And as it is sayd god shewed myracles for hym / |

This was the thre and twentyeste Scysme / bytwene eugenye & | Felyx / and dured sixtene yere / the cause was this / the generalle | counseylle of basylle deposed eugenye whiche was only pope and | Indubytate for as moche as he obserued not and kept the decrees | and statutes of the counseylle of Counstance as it is sayd / nether | he rought not to gyue obedyence to that general counseyll / wherof | roose a grete alteracion amonge wrytars of this mater pro and | contra whiche can not acorde vnto this day / One partye seyth that | the counseylle is aboue the pope / that other party sayth nay . But | the pope is aboue the counseyll / God blessyd aboue alle thynges | gyue and sende his pees in hooly chirche spouse of Cryst Amen / | This nycholas was of Jene comen of lowe byrth a doctour of | dyuynyte an actyf man / he reedefyed many places that were bro | ken and ruynous / and dyde do make a grete walle oboute the pa- | lays/ and made the walle newe aboute Rome for drede of the tur | kes / And the peple wondred of the ceesynge and resygnynge of | Felyx to hym / consyderyd that he was a man of so lowe byrthe | And that other was of affynyte to alle the moost part of Crystē | prynces / wherof there was a verse publysshed in Rome in this | maner / Lux fulsit mundo cessyd Felyx nycholao.

Capitulum 25.

Capitulum 24

A.D. 1448. i N the yere of kyng harry xxvij beynge trewes bytwene | Fraunce and englond a knyght of the englysshe partye na | med Sir Fraunceys Aragonoys toke a towne of normandy na | med Fogyers . ageynste the trewes / of whiche takynge byganne | moche sorowe and losse / For this was the occasion by whiche the || Frensshe men gate all normandy / This yere a Squyer of englōd | named chalons dyde armes with a knyght of Fraunce named | Syre lowys de buyel to fore the Frensshe kynge / and ranne the | Frensshe knyght thurgh with a spere and slewe hym in the felde |

Begin *recto* of sig. 54 6.

Jn the yere xxviij was a parlement holden at westmynstre | And from thennes adiourned to the black Frerys at london / | And after Crystemasse

to westmynstre ageyne / And this same | yere Robert of Cane a man of the west contre with a fewe ships | toke an hole flote of shippes comynge oute of the baye laden with | salt / whiche shippes were of pruys / Flaundrys / Holand and | Zeland / and brought hem to hampton / wherfor the marchauntis | of englond beynge in flaundres were arested in Brugys / Jpre | and other places / and myght not be delyuerd ner theyr dettys | dyscharged till they had made a poyntement for to paye for the a- | mendes and hurtes of tho shippes / which was payd by the mar | chauntes of the staple euery peny / And in lyke wyse the mar- | chauntes and godes beyng in danske were also arestyd and ma- | de grete amendes. This same yere the Frensshmen in a mornynge | toke by a trayne thea toune of poūt al arche and therynne the lord | Fawconbrydge was taken prysonner / And after that in decem- | bre Roan was taken and lost / A.D. 1449.
beyng therynne the duc of somer- | sete edmund / therle of shrewsbury / whiche by appoyntement left | pledgys and lost all normandye / and came home / And duryng | the sayd parlement the duck of Suffolk was arestyd and sente | in to the tour / and ther was a monethe / and after the kyng dyd | doo fetche hym oute / For whiche cause alle the comyns of En- | glond were in a grete rumour what for the delyueraunce of An- | geo and mayn and after for losynge of al normandye / and in e- | special for the deth of the good duke of gloucetre / in soo moche | that in somme places men gadred to geders and made hem Ca- | pytaynes as blewe berd and other / whiche were resysted and ta | ken and had Justyce and deyd / And thenne the sayd parlement | was adiourned to leycetre / And theder the kynge brought with | hym the duke of Suffolke / And whanne the comon hows vn- | derstode that he was oute of the tour and comen theder / they desy- | red to haue execucion on them / that were cause of the delyueraunce | of normandy / and had ben cause of the deth of the duc of glouce- | tre / and had solde gascoyne and guyan / of whiche they named | to be gylty the duc of Suffolk as chyef the lord saye / the Bisshop | of Saslebury / Danyel and many moo / And for to pease the || Comons the duck of Suffolke Begin *verso* of sig. 54 6.
was exyled oute of englond fy- | ue yere / And soo durynge the parlement he wente in to norfolke | and there toke shippyng for to goo oute of the Royame in to fraū | ce And this yere as he sayled on the see / a shippe of warre cal- | lyd the nycholas of towr mette with his ship and fonde hym ther | in whome they toke oute / and brought hym in to theyr shippe / | to fore the mayster and Capytayns / And ther he was examyned | and atte last Juged to the deth / And so they putte hym in a Ca | bon / and his chappelayne for to shryue hym / And that done | they brought hym in to douer roode / and there sette hym in to the | boot / and there smote of his heede / and brought the bodye a londe |

vpon the sondes and sette the heede therby / And this was done | the fyrst day of maye / Loo what auayleth hym now this delyue | ueraunce of normandye / And here ye may see how he was rewar | ded for the deth of the duck of gloucetre / Thus beganne sorowe | vppon sorowe and deth for deth /

Capitulum 26

A.D. 1450. t His yere of our lord a thousand four honderd & fyfty was | the grete grace of the Jubilee at Rome / where was greete | pardonne / in soo moche that from alle places of Crystendome gre | te multitude of peple resorted theder / This yere Syre thomas | cryell was ouerthrowen at fermygny / and many Englysshemen | slayne and taken prysonners / This same yere was a grete | assemblyng and gaderyng to geder of the Comons of kente in | greete nombre / and made an Insurrection and rebellyd ageynste | the kynge and his lawes And ordeyned hem a Capytayne cal- | lyd Johan Cade an Jrysshe man / whiche named hym self mor | tymer Cosyn to the ducke of yorke / And this Capytayne helde | these men to geder and made ordenaunces among them & brought | hem to blackheth where he made a bylle of petycions to the kyng | and hys counseyll / and shewyd what Inyuryes and oppressions | the poure comyns suffryd / and alle vnder coloure for to come to | his aboue / And he had a grete multitude of peple / And the seuē- | tenth day of Juyn the kynge with many lordes Capytayns and | men of warre wente towarde hym to the blackheth / And whan | the capytayne of kente vnderstode the comyng of the kynge with | so grete a puyssaūce / he withdrewe hym with his peple to seuenok || a lytil vyllage / And xxviij daye of Juyn beynge with | drawen and goon / the kynge cam with his armye sette in ordre | and enbataylled to the blackheth / and by aduys of his counseyll | sente sir vmfrey stafford knyght . and william stafford Squyer | two valyaunt Capytains with certayne peple to fight with the | capytayne and to take hym / and brynge hym and his | accessaryes to the kynge . whiche wente to seuenock / and there the | Capytayne with his felauship mett with hem / and fought ayēst | hem / and in conclusion slewe them bothe and as many as abode / | and wolde not yelde hem nor flee / Duryng these scarmuche fyll | a grete varyaunce among the lordes men and comyn peple beyng | on blackheth ageynst theyr lordes and capytayns sayyng playn | ly that they wolde goo to the capytayne of kente to assyste and | helpe hym / but yf they myghte haue execucion on the traytours / | beyng aboute the kyng / wherto the kyng sayd nay /

Begin *recto* of sig. 54 7.

And they sayd playnly that the lord saye tresorer of eng / | lond the

Bisshop of Salysbury/ /the abbot of gloucetre / danyel | and treuylyan and many moo were traytours / and worthy to be | ded / wherfor for to plese the lordes meyne and also somme of the | kynges hows the lord saye was arestyd and sente to the Toure / | of london / And thenne the kynge herynge tydynges of the dethe | and ouerthrowynge of the staffords withdrewe hym to london / | and fro thennes to kyllyngworth for the kyng ne the lordes dur | ste not truste theyr owne houshold meyne / Thenne after that the | Capytayne had hadde this vyctory vpon the staffordes / anone he | toke sire vmfrayes salade and his brygantyns smyten ful of gylt | nayles and also his gylt spores & arayed hym lyke a lord and | a Capytayne / and resorted with al his meyne / and also mo than | he had to fore to the blackheth ageyne / to whome cam tharchebis- | shop of Caunterbury / and the duck of Bokyngham to the blac- | heth and spake with hym / And as it was sayde they fonde hym | wytty in his talkyng and his requestys / and so they departed | And the thyrdde daye of Juyll he cam and entryd in to london | with alle his peple / and there dyde make cryes in the kynges na | me and his that no man shold robbe ne take noo mannes good / | but yf he payd for it / and cam rydynge thurgh the Cyte in grete | pryde / and smote his swerde vpon / london stone in Canwyckstre- | te / and he beyng in the Cyte sente to the tour for to haue the lord | saye / and soo they fette hym and brought hym to the guyldhalle | before the mayer and Aldermen / where he was examyned / and || he sayd he wold and ought to be Iuged by his peres / And the | comons of kent toke hym by force from the mayer and offycers | that kepte hym / and toke hym to a pryeste to shryue hym / And | er he myght be half shryuen they brought hym to the standard | in Chepe / And there smote of his hede / on whoos soule god haue | mercy Amen. And thus deyde the lord saye tresorer of Englond | After this they sette his heede on a spere / and bare it aboute in | the Cyte / And the same day at myle ende ccowmer was byheded | And the same day byfore at after none the capytayne with certa- | yne of his mayne wente to phelyp malpas hows / and robbyd | hym and toke awaye moche goode. And fro thennes he wente to | saynt margrete patyns to one gherstys hows / and robbyd hym | also. At whiche robbyng dyuerce men of london of theyr neygh- | bours were at it / and toke part with them / For this robbyng the | peples hertes fyll from hym / and euery thryfty man was aferd | for to be seruyd in lyke wyse. For ther was many a man in lon- | don that awayted / and wolde feyne haue seen a comyn robberye / | whiche god forbede / For it is to suppose yf he hadde not robbed / he | myght haue gon fer er he had bee withstonde / For the kynge and | alle the lordes of the Royame were departed excepte the lord sca- | les that kepte the toure /

Begin *verso* of sig. 54 7.

And the fyfthe day of Juyll he dyde do | smyte of a mans heede in Southwerke / And the nyght after the | mayre of london the aldermen and the Comons of the Cyte con | cluded to dryue awey the Capytayne and his hooste / and sente to | the lord scales to the tour and to mathew gogh a Capytayne of | normandye that they wolde that nyghte assayle the Capytayne | with them of kente / And so they dyde and cam to london brydge | in to Southwerke / er the Capytayne had ony knowlege therof | And they fought with them that kepte the brydge / And the kē- | tysshmen wente to harnoys and cam to the brydge and shot and | fought with hem / and gate the brydge / and made them of london | to flee / and slowe many of hem. And this endured all the nyght | to & fro tyll nyne of the clock on the morne / And atte laste they | brent the drawebrydge · where many of them of london were drou | ned / Jn which nyght Sutton an alderman was slayne / Rogyer | beysaunt and mathew gogh and many other / And after this | the chaunceler of Englond sente to the Capytayne a pardone ge- | neral for him and another for alle his meyne / And thenne they | departed from southwerke euery man home to his hows /

Begin *recto* of sig. 54 8. And whanne they were al departed and goone ther were || proclamaciones made in kente / southsex / and in other places / | that what man coude take the capytayne quyck or deede shold ha | ue a thousande marck / And after this one Alysaunder Jden a | squyer of kente toke hym in a gardyn in southsex / and in the ta- | kynge the capytayne Johan cade was slayne / and after byheded | and his heede sette on london brydge / / And anone after thenne | the kynge cam in to kente / and dyde his Iustyces sytte at caunter | bury and enquyre who were accessaryes and chyef cause of this | Insurrection / And ther were eyght men Inged to deth in one day | and in other places moo / And fro thennes the kyng wente in to | southsex / and in to the weste countre / where a lytell byfore was | slayne the bisshop of Salysbury / And this same yere were so ma | ny Iuged to deth that thre and twenty hedes stode on london brid- | ge attones /

Capitulum 27

A.D. 1452. IN the yere thyrtty the duck of york cam oute of the march | of wales with therle of deuenshyre and the lord Cobham | with grete puyssaunce for reformacion of certayne Iniuryes and | wronges / aud also to haue Iustyce on certayne lordes beynge a- | boute the kyng / And toke a felde at brentheth besyde dertford in | kent / whiche was a stronge felde / for whiche cause the kyng with | alle the lordes of the lande went vnto the blackheth with a grete |

multitude of peple armed and ordeyned for the warre in the best | wyse / And whanne they had musteryd on the blackheth / certa- | yne lordes were sente to hym for to treate and make appoynte - | ment with hym whiche were the Bisshop of Ely and the Bis- | shop of wynchestre / and therles of Salysbury and of warwyk | And they coucluded that the duck of Somersete sholde be hadde | to ward / and to answere to suche artycles as the duk of york shol | de putte to hym / And thenne the duc of york shold breke his fel | de and come to the kyng whiche was all promysed by the kyng | And soo the kyng commaunded that the duke of somersete shol | de be had in warde / And thenne the duck of york brake vp his | felde . and cam to the kynge and whanne he was come / contrary | to the promyse a fore made . the duke of somersete was presente in | the felde awaytyng and chyef aboute the kyng and made the | duke of york ryde to fore as a prysoner thurgh london / and after || they wolde Begin *verso* of sig. 54 8. haue putte hym in holde / but a noyse aroos that the | erle of marche his sonne was comynge with ten thousande men | to london warde / wherof the kynge and his counseyl fered / and | thenne concluded that the duc of yorke sholde departe at his wyl | Aboute this tyme byganne greete dyuysyon in spruse bytwene | the grete mayster and the knyghtes of the duche ordre whiche we | re lordes of that countre / For the Comons and townes rebellyd | ageynste the lordes / and made so grete warre that at last they cal | lyd the kynge of pole to be theyr lord / whiche cam & was recey | uyd and layde syege to the castel of maryenburgh / whiche was | the chyef castel and strength of alle the lond / and wanne it / and | droofe oute the mayster of danske and alle other places of that | lond / And so they that had ben lordes many yeres | lost all theyr | seygnorye and possessions in tho landes / |

A.D. 1453. Jn the yere of oure lorde a thousand four honderd and thre and | fyfty the cyte of Constantynople themperyal Cyte of Grece was | taken by the turke / the Emperonr slayne / and Innumerable cry- | sten peple destroyed and put in Captyuyte / by whiche pryse Cry | sten feyth perysshed in grece / and the turke enhaunced gretely in | pryde / And the yere of our lord a thousand four honderd & | thre and fyfty on saynt edwardes day the quene margaret was | delyuerd of a fayre prynce / whiche was named Edward / | That same day Johan norman was chosen for to be mayer of lon | don / And the day that he shold take his othe at westmynstre / he | wente thyder by water with alle the craftes / where a fore tyme / | the mayer aldermen and al the craftes / Rode a horsback / whiche | was neuer vsyd after / For syn that tyme they haue euer goone | by water in barges / ye haue wel vnderstaude to fore how that | Contrarye to the promyse of the kyng

and also the conclusions taken bytwene the kynge and the duke of york at
brentheth / the | duke of somersete wente not to ward / but abode about the
kyng | and hadde grete rewle and was made Capytayne of Calays / and |
rewlyd the kynge and the Royamme as he wolde / wherfore the | grete lordes
of the Royamme and also the comons were not ple- | syd / for which cause the
duke of york the Erles of warwyck and | of Salysbury with many knyghtes
and sqnyers and moch peple | cam for to remeue the sayd duke of Somersete
and other fro the | kynge / And the kynge herynge of theyr comyng thought
by his | counseylle for to haue gone westward and not for to mete with | hem /
Begin *recto* of sig. 55 r. And hadde with hym the Duke of Somersete / the Ducke || Bokyngham / the
erle of stafford / therle of northumberlond / the | lord clyfford and many other /
And what tyme that the Duk of | york and his felawship vnderstode that the
kyng was departed | with these sayd lordes from london / Anone he chaunged
his wey | and costed the countrey & cam to saynt albons the thre and twen |
tyest day of maye / and ther mette with the kyng . to whome the | kynge sente
certayne lordes and desyred hem to kepe the pees and | departe / but in
conclusion whiles they treated on that one syde / | therle of warwik with the
marche men and other entrid the tou- | ne on that other / and fought ageynst
A.D. 1455. the kynge and his partye / | and soo byganne the bataylle and fyghtyng /
whiche endured a | good whyle / but in conclusion the duck of york obteyned
and | had the vyctorye of that Iourneye . Jn whiche was slayne the | duke of
Somersete / therle of northumberlond / the lord Clyfford | and many knyghtes
and squyres / And many mo hurt / And on | the morne after they brought the
kynge in grete astate to london / | whiche was lodged in the bisshops palays of
london / And anon | after was a grete parlament / Jn whiche parlement the
duke of | york was made protectour of Englond / and therle of warwik |
Capytayne of Calays / And therle of Salysbury chaunceler of | englond / and
all suche personnes as had the rewle to fore aboute | the kynge were sette
a parte and myght not rewle as they dyde | to fore / Jn this yere deyde
pope nycholas the fyfthe / and after | hym was Calyxte the thyrdde / This
calyxte was a catalane / & | an old man whanne he was chosen and continuelly
seke / wherfor | he myghte not performe his zele and desyre that he had
ageynste | the turkes conceyued / and the cause of lettynge therof was his |
age and sekenesse / This Calyxte Institued and ordeyned | the feste of the
transfyguracion of our lord to be halowed on saint | sixtes day in August by
cause of the grete vyctorye that they of | hungary had ageynste the turkes
that same day / he was chosen | pope the yere of our lord thousand four
A.D. 1458. honderd and fyue & fyf | ty / And deyde the yere thousand four honderd

and eyght and fyf | ty / that same day that he ordeyned the feste of the transfyguracion | to be halowed / Jn this yere fyll a grete affraye in london ageynst | the lombardes / The cause bygan by cause a yong man toke a dag | gar from a lombard and brake it / wherfor the yong man on the | morn was sente for to come to fore the mayer and aldermen / and | there for the offence he was commytted to warde / And thenne the | mayer departed from the Guyldhalle for to goo home to his || dyner / but in Chepe the yonge men of the mercerye for the most | parte prentyses helde the mayer and shreues styll in chepe / and | wold not suffre hym to departe vnto the tyme / that theyr Felaw | whiche was commyted to warde were delyuerd / and soo by for | ce they rescowed theyr felawe from prysonne / and that done the | mayer and shreuys departed / And the prysoner delyuerd which | yf he had be put to pryson had ben in ieopardy of his lyf / & thus | beganne a rumour in the cyte ageynst the lombardes / and the sa- | me euenyng the handcrafty peple of the toune aroos and ranne | to the lombardes howses / and despoylled and robbed dyuerse of | hem / wherfor the mayer and aldermen cam with the honest people | of the toune and droof them thens and sente somme of them that | had stolen to newgate / And the yong man that was rescowed | by his felaws sawe this grete rumour affraye and Robberye en | siewed of his fyrst meuyng to the lombard / departed and went | to westmynstre to sayntuarye / or ellys it had costed hym his lyf / | For anone after cam doune one Oyer determyne / for to doo | Justyce on alle them that soo rebellyd in the Cyte / ageynste the | lombardes . on which satte with the mayer that tyme William ma | rowe / the duke of Bokyngham and many other lordes for to | see the execucion done / But the Comyns of the Cyte secretely ma | de them redy / and dyde arme them in theyr howses / and were | in purpose for to haue rongen the comyn belle / whiche is named | bowe belle / But they were lette by sad men / whiche cam to the | knowleche of the ducke of Bokyngham and other lordes / and | Incontynent they aroos for they durste noo lenger abyde / For | they doubted that the hoole Cyte wolde haue arysen ageynste | them / But yet neuertheles two or thre of the Cyte were Juged | to deth for this robbery and were hanged at Tyburne / |

Begin *verso* of sig. 55 1.

A.D. 1457.

And anone after the kynge / the Quene and other lordes Rode | to Couentre / and withdrewe hem from london for thyse causes / | And a lytel to fore the duke of yorke was sente fore to Grene- | wych / and there was dyscharged of the protectourshippe / | And my lord of Salysbury of his chauncelership / And after | this they were sente fore by preuy seal for to come to Couentre / | where they were almoost deceyued and therle of warwyck also / | and shold haue ben destroyed yf they had not seen well to / &c / ||

Begin *recto* of sig. 55 2.

Capitulum 28

His yere were taken four grete Fysshes bytwene Eerethe | and london / t that one was callyd mors maryne / the second | a swerd Fysshe / the other tweyne were whales / Jn this yere for | certayne effrayes done in the north countre bytwene the lord egre | mond / and therle of salysburyes sones / the sayd lord egremond | whome they had taken was condempned in a grete somme of mo | ney to the sayd erle of Salysbury / and therfor commysed to pri | son in newgate in london / where whanne he hadde ben a certayne | space brake pryson and thre prysoners with hym and escaped / | & wente his way / A.D. 1459. Also this yere therle of warwyk and his wyf | wente to calays with a fayr felawship & toke possession of hys | offyce / Aboute this tyme was a grete reformacion of many mo- | nasteryes of relygyon in dyuerse partyes of the world / whiche | were reformed after the fyrst Institucion and continued in ma | ny places. Also about this tyme the crafte of Enpryntyng was | fyrst founde in magounce in Almayne / whiche crafte is multy- | plyed thurgh the world in many places. & bookes ben had grete | chepe and in grete nombre by cause of the same crafte |

This yere was a grete batayll in the marches bytwene hongary | and turkye at a place callyd Septegrade / where Innumerable | turkes were slayn more by myracle than by mannes hond / For | only the honde of god smote them / Seint Iohn of capestrane was | there presente / & prouoked the cristen peple beyng thenne aferd | to poursiewe the turkes where an Infynyte multitude were slayn | and destroyed / the turkes sayd that a grete nombre of Armed | men folowed them / that they were aferd to tourne ageyne / they | were holy angels / This yere the prysonners of newgate | in london brake theyr prysonne and wente vpon the leedes and | fought ageynst them of the Cyte and kept the gate a long while | but atte last the toune gate the prysonne on them / and than they | were put in fetherys and yrons and were soore punysshed in en- | sample of other / Jn this yere also was a grete erth quaue in na | ples / in soo moche that ther perysshed fourty thousand peple that | sanke there in to therth / Jtem Jn the yere six and thyrtty saynt | Osmond sōtyme bisshop of Salysbury was canonysed at Rome | by pope Calyxt / And the sixtenthe daye of Juyll he was | translated at Salysbury by the Archebisshop of Caunterbury | and many other bisshops / Begin *verso* of sig. 55 2. And in August after Syre pyers || de bresey seneschal of normandy with the capitayne of depe and | many other capytaynes and men of warre wente to the see with | a grete nauye and cam in to the downes by nyght and on the | morne erly byfore day they londed and cam to Sandwyche both | by lande

and water / and toke the toune and ryfled and despoil | led it / And toke many
prysoners / and lefte the toune al bare / | whiche was a ryche place and moche
good therynne / And ladde | with hem many ryche prysoners / Jn
this yere in many | places of Fraunce / Almayne / Flaundres / Holond / and
Zelond | children gadred them by grete companyes / for to goo on pylgre- |
mage to saynt mychels mount in normandye / whiche cam fro fer | contreyes /
wherof the peple merueylled and many supposyd that | somme wycked spyryte
meuid them to soo doo / but it endured not | longe by cause of the longe waye
and also for lack of vytayll as | they wente. Jn this yere Raynold
pecok / Bisshop of | Chychestre was founden an heretyke / and the thyrdde
day of De- | cember was abiured at lambhyth in the presence of the Archebis- |
shop of Caunterbury and many Bisshops and doctours / and | lordes temporall /
and his bookes brente at poulus crosse / Ye haue | herde to fore how certayne
lordes were slayue at saynt Albons / | wherfore was alwey a grutche and
wrath had by the eyres of | them that were soo slayne ageynst the Duke of
yorke / the Erles | of warwyck and of Salysbury / wherfor the kyng by
thaduys | of his counseylle sente for them to london / To whiche place the |
Duke of york cam the syx and twentyest day of Janyuer with | four honderd A.D. 1458.
men / and lodgeat Baynardys castel in his owne | place / And the fyftenth day
of Janyuer cam therle of Salysbu | ry with fiue honderd men / and was
lodged in therber in his ow- | ne place / And thenne cam the dukes of excetre
and of Somerse- | te with eyght honderd men and lay withoute tempelbarre /
And | the Erle of northumberlonde the lorde egremond / and the Lord |
clyfford with fyftene honderd men / and lodged withoute toun | And the mayer
that tyme gefferey boleyn kept grete watche with | the Comons of the Cyte
and rode aboute the Cyte by Holburn | and Fletestrete with a fyue thousand
men wel armed and ara- | yd for to kepe the pees / And the fourtenth day of
Feuerer therle | of warwyck cam to london from Calays wel beseen and wor- |
shipfully with six honderd men in reede Jaquettys browdryd | with a ragged
staf behynde and afore / And he was | lodged atte gray Freres / And
the seuententhe daye of Marche || the kynge cam to london and the quene / Begin *recto* of sig. 55 3.
And there was a con- | corde and pees made amonge these lordes / and they
were sette in | pees / And on oure lady day the xxv day of marche a thou- | A.D. 1458.
sand four honderd and eyght and fyfty / the kyng / quene. and all | these
lordes wente on procession at powlus in london / and anone | after the kynge
and lordes departed / Jn this yere was a gre | te affray in fletestrete bytwene
men of court and men of the same | strete / Jn whiche affray the quenes
attorney was slayne. |

Capitulum 29

a Lso this same yere as the Erle of warwyck was at a coū- | seyll at
westmynstre / Alle the kynges houshold meyny ga | dred them to geder
for to haue slayne the sayd erle / but by helpe | of god and his frendes he
recoueryd his barge / and escaped theyr | euyll enterpryse / how wel the
Coques cam rennynge oute with | spyttes and pestels ageynst hym / And the
same day he roode to- | ward warwyk / And sone after he gate hym a
commyssion / and | wente ouer see to calays / Sone after this therle of
Salysbury | comyng to london was encoūtrid at bloreheth with the lord
aude | ley / & moche other peple ordeyned for to haue destressid him / but he |
hauynge knowleche that he shold be mette with / was accōpanyed | with his
twoo sones sir thomas and sir Johan neuyll / and a | greete felawship of good
men / And soo they mette / And fonghte | to geders / where therle of salysbnry
wanne the feld / And the | lord audely was slayn and many gentill men of
chesshyre and | moche peple hurte / And therles twoo sonnes were hurte / and
go | ynge homeward afterward they were taken / and had to Chestre | by the
quenes meyue / After Calyxte / pius was pope and | was chosen this yere
1458 / And he was callyd to fore Eneas | an Eloquent man and a poete laureate /
he was Ambassatour | of the Emperours afore tyme / And he wrote in the
counseylle | of basylle a noble trayttye for thauctoryte of the same . |
Also he canouysed saynt katheryue of Senys / This po- | pe ordeyned
grete Indulgencys and pardonne to them that wol- | de goo warre ageynst the
turke / and wrote an Epystle to the grete | Turke exortynge hym to become
crysten / And in the ende | he ordeyned a passage ageynste the Turke
Begin *verso* of sig. 55 3. at Ankone / To || whiche moche peple drewe oute of all partyes of Crystendome /
& | of whiche peple he sente many hoome . ageyne by cause they suffys- | sed
not / And anone after he deyde at the sayd place of Ancone / | the yere of
oure lord a thousand foure houderd aud liiij the xiiij | day of August / Jn
A.D. 1459. the yere eyght and thyrtty of kyng | harry the duke of yorke / the Erles of
warwyck and of Salys- | bury sawe the gouernaunce of the Royamme stode
most by the | quene and her counseylle / and how the grete prynces of the
londe | were not callyd to counseylle bnt sette a parte / & not ouly soo / but |
that it was sayd thurgh the Royame that tho sayd lordes shol- | dc bc destroyed
vtterly as it openly was shewed atte bloreheth by | them that wold hauc slayne
the Erle of Salesburye / Thēne | they for sauacion of theyr lyues and also for
the comyn wele of | the Royame thought for to remedye thyse thynges /
assemblyd | them to gyder with moche people and toke a felde in the west

coun|tray / to whiche the erle of warwyck cam from calays with ma- | ny of thold soudyours / as andrew Trollop / and other / in whos | wysedomes as for the warre he moche trusted / and whanne they | were thus assemblyd and made theyr felde / the kynge sente oute | his commissyons and preuy sealys vnto alle the lordes of hys ro | yamme to come and awayte on hym in theyr mooste defensable | wyse / and soo euery man cam in suche wyse that the kynge was | strenger / and hadde moche more peple than the duc of york / | and the Erles of warwyck / and Salysbnry / For it is here to be | noted that euery lord in englond at this tyme durst not dysobe- | ye the quene / For she rewlyd peasybly all that was done about | the kynge / whiche was a good symple and Innocent man / | And thenne whanne the kynge was comen to the place where as | they were / the duck of yorke and his felawship had made theyr | felde in the strengest wyse / and hadde purposed veryly to abyden | and haue foughten / But in the nyght Andrew Trollop and all | the olde Soudyours of Calays with a greete felawshippe / so- | daynly departed oute of the dukes hooste / and wente strayte vnto | the kynges felde / where they were resseyued Ioyonsly / |

For they knewe the entente of the other lordes and also the ma- | ner of theyr feld And thenne the duck of york with the | other lordes seynge them so deceyued toke a counseylle shortly in | that same nyghte and departed from the Felde leuynge behynd | them the mooste parte of theyr peple to kepe the felde tyll on | the morne / Thenne the duke of || yorke with his seconde sonne departed thurgh walys toward Ir | lond leuynge his oldest sone therle of marche with the Erles of | warwyck and of Salesbury / whiche to geder with thre or foure | personnes roode strayte in to deuenshyre / and there by helpe and | ayde of one denham a squyer / whiche gate for them a shippe / | whiche coste enleuen score noblys / & with the same shippe sailed | fro thens in to garnesye / And there refresshyd them / and from | thennes sayled te Calays / where they were receyued in to the cas | tel by the postern er they of the toune knewe of hit / And the duk | of yorke toke shippynge in wales and sayled ouer in to Jrlond | where he Was well resseyued /

Begin *recto* of sig. 55 4.

Capitulum Trisesimum

A.D. 1459.

Henne kynge harry beynge with his hooste in the felde not | knowynge of this sodayne departynge on the morne fonde | none in the felde of the sayde lordes . sente oute in all haste men to | folowe and poursiewe after to take hem / but they mette not with | them as god wold / and thenne the kyng wente to ludlowe and | dispoylled the castel and the toune / And sent the duchesse of york | with her children to my lady of Bokyngham her suster / where she | was kepte longe after / And forthwith the kynge ordeyned the | duc of somersete Capytayne of Calays / And these other lordes | soo departed as a fore is sayd were proclamed rebellys and gre | te traytours / Thenne the duke of Somersete toke to hym | alle tho Soudyours that departed fro the felde / and made hym re | dy in alle haste to goo to Calays and take possession of his of- | fyce / And whanne he cam he fonde the Erle of warwyck therin | as capytayne / And therles of marche aud salysbury also / And | thenne he londed by Scales and wente to guysnes / and there he | was resseyued / And it fortuned that somme of | tho shippis that cam ouer with hym / came in to Calays hauen by | theyr free wylle / For the shipmen ought more fauoure to the Er | le of warwyck than to the Duke of Somersete / | Jn whiche shippes were taken dyuerse men · as Jenyn Fynk- | hyll / Johan felaw / kaylles and pnrser / whiche were byheded so- | ne after in Calays / And after this dayly cam men ouer See | to thyse lordes to Calays / And byganne to wexe strenger and | strenger · And they borowed moche good good of the staple / || And on that other syde the duc of Somersete beyng in guysues | gate people to hym / whiche cam oute and scarmusshed with them | of Calays / and they of Calays with them whiche endured ma | ny dayes / duryng thus this dayly scarmuchyuge / moche people | dayly cam ouer vnto thyse lordes / Thenne on a tyme by thaduys | of counseylle the lordes at calays sente ouer Mayster Denham | with a grete felawship to Sandwyche / whiche toke the toune / | And therynne the lord Ryuers and the lord scales his sonne / | and toke many shippes in the hauen / and bronght hem alle to ca | lays / with whiche shippes many maronners of theyr free wylle | cam to Calays to serue the Erle of warwyck / And after | this the Erle of warwyk by thaduys of the lordes toke alle his | shippis and mannyd them wel / and sayled him self in to Irlond | for to speke with the duke of yorke / and to take his aduys how | they sholde entre in to Englond ageyne / And whanne he hadde | ben there and done his erandes / he retourned ageyne toward Ca- | lays / and brought with hym his moder the Countesse of Salys | bury / And comyng in the west countraye vpon the see the duk | of excetre admyral of englond beyng in the grace a dieu accompa | nyed with many shippes of warre / met with therle of warwyck | and his flote / but they fought not / For the substaunce of the pe- | ple beynge with the duke of excetre ought better wyll and more | fauour to therle of warwyck than to hym / And soo they depar- | ted and cam to Calays saefte / blessyd be god /

Begin *verso* of sig. 55 4.

Thenne the kynges counseylle seynge that these lordes had goten | these shippes from Sandwiche and taken the lord Ryuers and | his sonne ordeyned a garnyson at Sandwiche to abyde and kepe | the toune / And made one mountford Capytayne of the Toune / | And that noo man / ne vytaylle ne marchaunt that sholde goo in | to Flaundres shold not goo to Calays / Thenne they of Calays | seynge this made oute mayster denham and many other to goo to | Sandwiche / And soo they dyde / and assaylled the toune by wa | ter and by lande / And gate it and brought mountford theyr | Capytayne ouer see to rysebank and there smote of his heede / | And yet dayly men cam ouer to them oute of all partyes of En- | glond /

Capitulum Trisesimum Primum · ||

Nd after this the sayd erles of marche warwyk and of sa | lysbury cam ouer see to douer with moche peple and there | landed / to whome al the coũtray drewe and cam to london armed | And for to late the lordes of the kynges counseylle knowe theyr | trouth / and also theyr entente / assemblyd them and told them / | that they entended no harme vnto the kynges personne / sauf that | theywold putte fro hym suche persones as were aboute hym / | Begin *recto* of sig. 55 5.

And soo departed fro london with a grete puyssannce toward | norhampton / where the kynge was accompanyed with many lor- | des and had made a stronge felde Withoute the toun / And there | both partyes mette and was foughten a grete bataylle · In which | batayll were slayne the duck of Bokyngham / therle of shrowes | bury / the vysccounte Beamond / the lorde Egremond and many | knyghtes and Squyers and other also / And the kyng hym self | taken in the felde / and afterWard brought to london / And anone | afterward was a parlament at westmynstre / duryng whiche par | lament the duck of york cam onte of Irlond with therle of Rut | land rydyng with a grete felawship in to the palays at westmes- | tre and toke the kynges palays · And cam in to the parlement | chambre / and there toke the kynges place / and claymed the crou | ne as his propre enherytaunce and ryght / and cast forth in wry | tynge his tytle / and also how he was ryghtful Eyer / wherfore | was moche to doo / but in conclusion it was appoynted and con- | cluded that kynge harry sholde regne and be kyng durynge his | naturel lyf / For as moche as he had ben so long kyng / and was | possessyd / And after his deth the duke of yorke shold be kynge | and his eyres kynges after hym / And forthwith shold be procla | med eyr apparaunt / And sholde be also protectour and Regente | of englonde durynge the kynges lyf / with many other thynges | A.D. 1460.

ordeyned in the same parlament / And if kyng harry duryng his | lyf wente from this appoyntement / or ony artycle concluded in | the sayd parlement he shold be deposed / & the duke sholde take the | crowne and be kyng / all whiche thynges were enacted by thaucto | rite of the sayd parlament / At whiche parlament the Comons of | the Royamme beyng assemblyd in the comon hows comenynge | and treatyng vpon the tytle of the sayd dnc of yorke / sodaynly | fyll downe the crowne whiche henge thenne in the myddes of the | sayd hows whiche is the fraytour of thabbay of westmynstre / | whiche was taken for a prodyge or token that the regne of kyng | harry was ended Begin *verso* of sig. 55 5. and also the crowne whiche stode on the hyest || tour of the stepel in the Castel of douer fyll doun this same yere / |

Capitulum 32

A.D. 1460. Henne for as moche as the quene with the prynce was in | the northe / and absented her from the kyng / And wolde | not obeye suche thynges as was concluded in the parlement / hit | was ordeyned that the duck of york as protectour shold go | norward for to brynge in the quene and subdue suche as wold | not obeye / with whome wente the erle of Salysbury / Syre Tho- | mas nenylle his sonne with moche peple / And at wakefelde in | Crystemasse weke they were alle ouerthrowen and slayn by the | lordes of the quenes partye · that is to wete the duk of york slayn | therle of Rutland / Syre thomas neuyll and many moo / Therle | of Salysbury was taken a lyue and other as Johan harow of | london Capytayne of the foote men / and hanson of hulle / which | were brought to pountfret / and there after byheded and theyr he- | des sente to yorke and sette vpon the yates / And thus was that | noble prynce slayne the duke of yorke / on whoos sowle & on alle | crysten sowles god haue mercy Amen / And this tyme therle of | marche beyng in shrewesbury heeryng the deth of his fader / | desyred assistence and ayde of the toune for to auenge his faders | deth / And from thennes wente to walys / where at Candelmasse | after he had a batayl at mortemers crosse ageynst therles of pen | broke and of wylshyre / where the erle of marche had the vycto- | rye / Thenne the quene with tho lordes of the north after they had | distressyd and slayne the duck of yorke and his felauship / came | southward with a grete multitude and puyssance of peple for to | come to the kynge / and defete suche conclusions as had ben taken | byfore by the parlement / Ageynste whoos comynge the Duke of | norfolke / the erle of warwycke with moche peple aud ordenaunce | wente vnto saynt Albons / And ladde kynge harry with hem / | And there encountryd to geder in suche wyse and foughte that | the duke of norfolke / and therle of warwyk with other of theyr | partye fledde and loste that Iourneye / where kynge harry was | taken / and wente with the quene and prynce / and his sonne / | whiche tho had goten that felde / Thenne the quene and her | partye beynge at theyr aboue sente anone to london / whiche was | on Asshwednesday / the fyrste daye of lente for vytaylle / whiche || the mayer ordeyned by thaduys of the aldermen that certayne car | tes laden with vytaylle sholde be sente to saynt Albons to them / | And whanne tho cartes cam to crepylgate / the Comons of the cy | te that kepte that gate toke the vytaylles from the cartes / and | wold not suffre it to passe / Thenne were ther certayne Alder | men and comeners appoynted to goo to barnet for to speke with | the quenes coūseylle for to entrete that the northern men shold be | sente home ageyne in to theyr countraye ageyne / For the Cyte of | london dredde soore to be robbed and despoylled / yf they had come | And thus duryng thys trayttye tydynges cam that the Erle of | warwyk had mett with therle of marche on Cotteswold comyng | oute of wales with many wallshmen / And that they bothe were | comyng to londonward / Anone as these tydynges were knowen | the trayttye was broken / For the kyng / quene prynce / and all the | other lordes that were with hem departed from saynt albons north | ward with alle theyr peple / yet er they departed they byheded the | lord Boneyle / and Syr thomas cryel / whiche were taken in the | Iourneye done in the shroftewysday . Thenne the duchesse of yorke | beyng at london and herynge of the losse of the Felde of saynt al | bons sente ouer see her twoo yonge sonnes George and Rychard | whiche wente wente to vtrecht / And phelyp malpas a ryche marchaūt | of london / thomas vaghan squyer and mayster wylliam hatte- | clyf / and many other feryng the comyng of the quene to london | toke a shippe of Andwerp for to haue goone in to Zeland / And | on that other coost were taken of one Colompne a Frensshman | a shippe of warre and he toke hem prysoners / and brought hem | in to Fraunce / where they payd grete good for theyr raunsonne / | and ther was moche good and rychesse in that shippe /

A.D. 1461.

Begin *recto* of sig. 55 6.

Capitulum Trisesimum Tercium /

t Henne whanne the Erle of marche and therle of warwyk | hadde mette to geder on Cottiswold / Incontynent they con- | cluded to go to london / And sente worde anone to the Mayer and | to the cyte that they sholde come / Anone the Cyte was gladde of | theyr comynge hopynge to be relyeuyd by them / And soo they | cam to london / And whanne they were comen and hadde spoken | with the lordes and astates / thenne beyng there concluded for Begin *verso* of sig. 55 6. as || moche as kynge harry was gone with them northward / that he | had forfayted his crowne and ought to be deposed acordyng vn | to the actes made and passed in the last parlement / |

And soo by thaduys of the lordes spirituel and temporel thenne | beynge ot london · the erle of marche Edward by the grace of | god oldest sone of Rychard duke of yorke as ryghtful heyr and | next enherytour to his fader / A.D. 1461. March 4. the fourth day of marche the yere of | oure lorde Lix toke possession of the Royamme of Englond at | westmynstre in the grete halle. And after in the chirche of the ab- | bay and offryd as kynge berynge the Septre Royall / to whom | alle the lordes bothe spirituel and temporell dyde hommage and | obeyssaunce as to theyr souerayne / lyege / and lawfull lord and | kynge / And forthwith it was proclamed thurgh the Cyte kyng | Edward the fourthe of that name / And anone after the kyng | roode in his Ryall astate norward with all his lordes for to sub- | due his subgettis that tyme beyng in the north / and tauenge his | faders deth / And on palmsonday after he hadde a grete bataylle | in the northe countrey at a place callyd Towton not fer fro yorke / | where with the helpe of god he gate the felde and had the vycto | rye · where were slayne of his aduersaryes xxx thousand men & | moo as it was sayd by men that were there / Jn whiche bataylle | was slayne the erle of northumberlond / the lord clyfford / Syr Io | han Neuyll / the Erle of westmerlandes brother / Andrewe Trol | lop / and many other knyghtes and squyers / Thenne kynge | harry that had ben kynge beynge with the quene and Prynce at | yorke / heerynge the losse of that feld and soo moche peple slayn | and ouerthrowen / anone forthwith departed al thre with the duc | of Somersete / the lord roos and other toward scotland / |

And the next daye kynge Edward with all his armye entryd | in to yorke / and was there proclamed kyng / and obeyed as he | ought to be / And the mayer Aldermen and comyns sworne to be | his lyege men / and whanne he hadde taryed a while in the north | and that alle the countrey there had tourned to him / he retorned | southwarde leuynge the Erle of warwyck in tho partyes for to | kepe and gouerne that countrey / And about mydsomer after the | yere of oure lord god a thousande four honderd and syxty / And | the fyrste yere of his regne he was crowned at westmynstre and | enoynted kynge of Englond hauynge the hoole possession of all | the hoole Royamme / whome J praye god saue and kepe / and | sende hym thaccomplysshement of the Begin *recto* of sig. 55 7. remenaunt of his rightfull || enherytaunce by yonde the see / And that he may regne in them to | the playsyre of almyghty god / helthe of his sowle / honoure and | worshippe in this presente lyf / and wele and prouffyte of alle | his subgettis / and that there may be a veray fynal pees in al cry- | sten Royames that the Infydeles aud myscreauntes may be with- | standen and destroyed / and our feyth enhaunced / whiche in thyse | dayes is sore mynuysshed by the puyssaunce of the Turkes and | hethen men / And that after this presente and short lyf we maye | come to the euerlastyng lyf in the blysshe of heuen / Amen

And here J make an ende of this lytel werke as nygh as I can | fynde after the forme of the werk to fore made by Ranulph monk | of Chestre / And where as ther is fawte / J beseche them that shal | rede it to correcte it / For yf J coude haue founden moo storyes / | J wold haue sette in hit moo / but the substaunce that J can fyn | de and knowe J haue shortly sette hem in this book . to thentente | that such thynges as haue ben done syth the deth or ende of the sa- | yd boke of polycronycon shold be had in remembraunce and not | putte in oblyuyon ne forgetynge / prayenge all them that shall | see this symple werke to pardone me of my symple / and rude | wrytynge / Ended the second day of Juyll the xxij yere of | the regne of kynge Edwardthe fourth & of the Incarnacion of | oure lord a thousand four honderd foure score and tweyne / |

Fynysshed per Caxton

NOTES TO VOL. I.

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Note a.

A LIST OF PERSONS BEARING THE NAME OF CAXTON, ANTE A.D. 1500.

Jeremias de Caxton.

1232.—"There was one Jeremias de Caxton, who was Sherif for this County (Cambridgeshire) for four years together, beginning from 17th Henry III."—*Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No.* 5804. This appears to be the same man who in 1233 witnessed the grant of a messuage in Cambridgeshire; *Account of Pythagoras's School in Cambridgeshire, Brit. Mus. Grenv.* 3053, pp. 6, 7; who in 1239 is mentioned as having been sent with several others to settle the disputes between the Convent and the City of Norwich; and who, in 1244, kept a Roll at the Exchequer as Justice.—*Foss's Judges of England,* vol. ii, p. 293.

William de Caxtone.

1311.—A copy of the Will of William de Caxton, 4 Edw. II, is preserved in the Archives of the City of London. He died possessed of a house in Shirburn Lane, St. Mary Abchurch, and a tenement in Wolfislane, Allhallows on the Cellars.—*Records of the Court of Hustings, Guildhall, London.*

Matilda de Caxton.

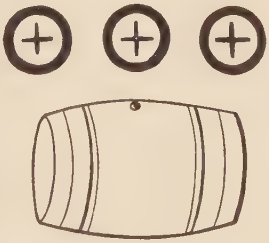
1342.—A copy of the Will of Matilda de Caxton, 16 Edw. III, is preserved in the Archives of the City of London. She died possessed of houses, brew-house, and tenement in Candlewick Street, and tenements in St. Swithin's Lane and Shirbourne Lane.—*Idem.*

Philip Caxton.

1420.—"7 Henry V, 24th July. To Thomas Duke of Exeter. In money paid to him by the hands of Philip Caxton, his attorney, in advance, as well for 1000*l.* yearly, paid at the King's Exchequer, as for the support of the Earl of Oxford, in the King's custody, by reason of his minority,—158*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.*"—*Issues of the Exchequer, by Frederick Devon,* 4to. London, 1837, p. 201.

— *Caxton.*

1424.—The Norwich Caxtons are known only from the occurrence of a merchant's mark, or rebus, in documents preserved in the Guildhall of that City. Mr. Ewing, in his Essay on the Norwich tradesmen's marks, in the "Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society" for December, 1850, gives the accompanying rebus of that name. The Cakes-tun is very curious, the "cakes" looking very much like "hot-cross-buns." It is worth noting that the village of Yaxley, Norfolk, is at this day pronounced by the poor—Yakes-ley.



Richard Caxton.

1441.—Richard Caxton "issued" from his apprenticeship to John Harrowe, Mercer, of London.—*Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.*

William Caxton.

1446.—In the City Records, Liber K, in a list of names, to which are attached small sums of money, probably a house-tax, occurs—"Item, ten. willī de Caxton j d."

Note a, on the name of Caxton, continued.

Robert Caxton.

1459.—Among the Wills preserved at Canterbury is that of "Robert Caxton, *alias* Causton," of Canterbury. This is an additional proof that Caxton's name was *pronounced* Causton.

Thomas Caxton.

1461.—Thomas Cacston, or Causton, was chosen by the Mercers' Company to be one of that Guild who should ride out to meet Edward IV coming to London.—*Mercers' Records, Wardens' Accounts.*

John Caxston.

1475.—In the account book of the Masters or Wardens of the Guild of our Lady, within the Church of St. Margaret's Westminster, is the following :—

"Also the said late maistres charge theimsilf wᵗ money by them receiued for thentre of diũes psones of new to the said frat'nite—

Of Sir William Folton, priste,	vj s viij d
Of John Stones of wanndsworth	vj s viij d
Of John Caxston	vj s viij d

Thomas Caxton.

1476.—Thomas Caxton was Town Clerk of Sandwich in this year.—*Boys's History of Sandwich*, 4to, Canterbury, MDCCCXCII *(sic)*, p. 425.

John Caxton.

1479.— Johēs Caxton, de Tuxford =
sup'stes 19 . Edw. 4.
Richard Caxton = Isabella, filia Thomæ
Vavasour de Deneby
in com' Derbia.
Agnes, filia = Joh : Sutton
et hær . æt . 40 , 23 Hen. 8.

—*British Museum, Cole Collection; Addit. MS. No.* 6707, p. 122.

John Caxton.

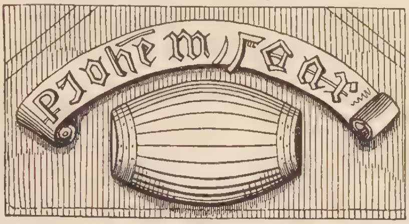
1485.—The following inscription (*Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury*, 4to. 1640, p. 327), was anciently to be seen on a brass tablet in the body of the Church of St. Alphage, Canterbury, but has long since disappeared.

Pray for the sawlys of Iohn Caxton and of Ione
And Isabel that to this Church great good hath done
In making new in the Chancell
Of Dexkys and Setys as well
An Antiphon the which did bye
With a table of the Martyrdome of Sᵗ Alphye
For thing much which did pay
And departed out of this life of October the 12 . day .
And Isabel his second wiff
Passed to blisse where is no strife
The xijᵗ day to tell the trowth
Of the same moneth as our Lord knoweth
In the yeare of our Lord God a thousand fower hundred fower-
score and five.

Of the Desks, or, as the old inscription has it "Dexkys," mentioned above, no relics can now be identified, and the same remark applies to the Antiphon and Table of St. Alphage's martyrdom; but one of the Seats with the following odd Rebus (copied from *The Handbook of Canterbury*, 1843), was for long an object of curiosity in the South Aisle of the Church.

Note a, on the name of Caxton, continued.

The present Rector of St. Alphage, in answer to an inquiry, states that, on the occasion of some repairs, this old seat was cleaned and removed for safety to the Rectory, where it now may be seen.



The will of John Caxton "of the parish of St. Alphage, Canterbury, Mercer," is still existing in the Registry of that City. In it are mentioned his wife Isabella and his daughter Celia, but there is no link by which to connect him with William Caxton, the Printer.

Oliver Caston.

1498.—In the 13th Henry VII was enrolled a deed between Oliver Caston, and others, concerning tenements in the parish of St. Alphage, Cripplegate, London.—*Court of Hustings, as above.*

Among the MSS. in the British Museum is a list of Landowners in the County of Kent, during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, but the name of *Caxton* or *Causton* does not appear among them.—*Lansdowne MS. No.* 276.

The Armorial bearings of several families of the name of Causton may be found in "Burke's General Armory."

Note b.

A LIST OF PERSONS BEARING THE NAME OF CAUSTON, CAWSTON, OR CAUXTON, ANTE A.D. 1500.

William de Causton.

1297.—A copy of his Will is preserved in the Archives of the City of London, in which he leaves houses in Westcheap and Old Change.—*Records of the Court of Hustings, Guildhall, London.*

Alexander de Causton.

1299.—A copy of his Will is preserved in the Archives of the City of London, by which it appears that he owned a shop in Cheap.—*Court of Hustings, as above.*

Aubinus de Caustone.

1311.—Among the scrutineers of the Cappers' Company appointed, 4 Edward II, this name is mentioned. —*Liber Custumarum, by H. T. Riley,* 8vo, 1860, vol. i. p. 104.

William de Caustone.

1317.—Willelmus de Caustone was one of the "Vicecomites" in 10 Edward II.—*Idem,* pp. 245 and 294.

John de Caustone.

1321.—In the list of a jury empannelled to try certain claims of the Company of Fishmongers, appears the name of "Johannem de Caustone."—*Idem,* p. 392. The bold Sheriff, renowned in the following story, was probably the same man:—

1326.—"Pleas of the Hall of his lordship the King, holden at the Tower of London before T. le Blunt, Seneschal, and the Marshal of the household of his lordship the King, on the Thursday next before the

Note b, on the names of Causton, &c. *continued.*

Feast of Saint Margaret [20 July], in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward.—John de Caustone, one of the Sheriffs of London, was attached to make answer unto his lordship the King for contempt within the verge, etc. as Alan de Lek, serjeant-harbourer, who for him prosecuted, averred.

"And as to the same, the said Alan, who prosecuted, etc. said that whereas his said lordship the King, with his household, on the Monday next after the Feast of the Translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr [7 July], in the nineteenth year of the said King then reigning, came to the Tower of London, there at his good pleasure to abide, and the said Alan, the same day and year, as in virtue of his office bound to do, did assign lodgings unto one Richard de Ayremynne, secretary to his said lordship the King, in the house of the aforesaid John de Caustone, situate at Billyngesgate in the City of London, and, for the better knowing of the livery so made, did set the usual mark in chalk over the doors of the house aforesaid, as the practice is; and did also place men and serjeants with the horses and harness of the said Richard within the livery so made as aforesaid;—the before-named Sheriff, the day and year above-mentioned, in presence of his lordship the King and within the verge, etc., did not allow such livery on part of the said Alan to be made; for that he of malice did efface the mark aforesaid, and drive away the men and serjeants aforesaid, in contempt of his lordship the King, and to damage of one thousand pounds; and this in behalf of his lordship the King he was prepared to verify.

"And John de Caustone appeared, and he denied violence and injury when etc., and all contempt, etc.; and he averred that in no way was he guilty therein, and put himself upon the country as to the same. And Alan aforesaid who prosecuted, etc., in like manner, etc. Therefore a jury was to be summoned thereon. And command was given unto the Marshal to summon to appear before the Seneschal, etc., on the Friday instant next before the Feast of Saint Margaret the Virgin [20 July], wheresoever, etc., twelve, etc., by whom, etc. For that, etc.

"And hereupon, the Mayor and citizens of London appeared, and said that in the Charter of his lordship King Henry, grandsire of his lordship the then reigning King, lately made unto the citizens of London as to divers liberties, it is set forth that within the walls of the City, or in the Portsokne, no one shall take lodging by force or by livery of the Marshal; which Charter, and the liberties therein contained, his lordship the King then reigning, by his Charter, which they produced and which testified thereunto, did grant and confirm; the date whereof was at York, on the eighth day of June in the twelfth year of his reign. * *

"And they produced a Writ of his lordship the King directed here unto the Seneschal and Marshal, whereby his lordship the King did command them that they should allow the citizens aforesaid to use and enjoy their liberties aforesaid, and every of them, before them without impediment, according to the tenor of the Charter of confirmation and of the grant of the King aforesaid, not molesting them in any way or aggrieving them, contrary to the tenor thereof. And they said that in virtue of the grant aforesaid, the like liveries of lodgings, upon every arrival of his lordship the King, had been wont to be made in the City aforesaid by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and officers of such city, in presence of the Marshal of the household aforesaid, and not by others, as from of old had been the usage, and that always, from the time of the grant of the Charter aforesaid, they had enjoyed such liberty until within one year then expired, when the said Alan de Lek did impede them therein; wherefore they demanded that their liberty aforesaid might be allowed unto them, etc.

"A day was given unto them for hearing judgment, on the day aforesaid, etc. And in the meantime conference was to be held thereon with the King, etc. Upon which day, as well the aforesaid Alan who prosecuted, etc., as well as John aforesaid, [and it was found that] the said John was in no way guilty of the contempt aforesaid, as was imputed unto him. Therefore it was awarded, that the aforesaid John should go thence without day, etc."—*Liber Albus, translated by H. T. Riley.* 4to. 1861 [Error for 1860], pp. 263-5.

A copy of his Will, dated 1353, preserved in the City Archives, *(Court of Hustings, as above)*, shows that John de Causton was a Mercer, and that he died in possession of tenements in the parish of St. Pancras, Sopers Lane, and several other tenements in different parts of the City, including the "Cardinal's Hat," in Gracechurch Street. Some of these were left for the establishment of a Chantry in the Convent of "Haliwell extra bisshoppisgate," where continual mass might be sung for his own soul, and the souls of William de Causton and others. This endowment was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1520, for re-adjustment, the proceedings in which case are reported at length in the Registry Books at Lambeth Palace, where a copy of this Will also appears.

Note b, on the names of Causton, &c. continued.

William Causton.

1341.—In the Mercers' Records, 2nd Henry IV, among the "Entries" of Apprentices—"Will. Causton, app. Thom. Gedeney ij s."—*Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.*

Richard de Causton—William de Causton—Michel de Causton—Henry de Causton—Theobald de Causton—Nichol de Causton—Roger de Causton.

1347.—These persons were all admitted to the fellowship of the Mercers' Company in this year.—*Idem.*

Henry de Causton.

1350.—A copy of his Will is preserved in the Archives of the City of London, by which it appears that he died possessed of a Quit-rent and tenements in the parish of St. Thomas Apostle, London.—*Records of the Court of Hustings, Guildhall, London.*

William de Causton.

1354.—A copy of his Will, preserved in the City Archives, shows William de Causton to have possessed numerous tenements in various parts of the City of London.—*Court of Hustings, as above.*

Richard de Causton.

1366.—A copy of his Will is preserved in the City Archives, in which he devises certain tenements in the parishes of St. Margaret Patyns, and St. Dunstan towards the Tower, and to "the work of London Bridge, 10s."—*Court of Hustings, as above.*

Hugh de Causton.

1370.—"To John de Southam and Hugh de Causton, of the City of London. In money delivered to them in discharge of 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which they lent to the Lord the King, at the Receipt of the Exchequer, on the 25th day of May last past, to wit, the said John 10*l.*, and the aforesaid Hugh ten marks, as appears in the Roll of Receipts of the same day.—*Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, and Lord High Treasurer, containing payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue in* 44 *Edward III. By Frederick Devon.* 4to. London, 1855.

Hugh de Causton owned, in 1370, the manor of Cawstons, or Causton, in the Weald of Kent. (*See also Note c.*)

Roger de Cawston.

1380.—Was a merchant of Norwich, where his trade mark is still preserved. A person of this name, but perhaps not the same, was Town Clerk in 1322.—*Norwich Arch. Soc. Papers, December*, 1850.

Walter Causton.

1392.—Was Monk and Precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Master of Eastbridge Hospital in 1383. In 1392 he was made Prior of St. Martin, Dover, by Archbishop Arundel.—*Lyson's History of London.* Folio, Canterbury, 1782, vol. iv. p. 106.

Roger Causton.

1395.—Was an Alms-man of the Mercers' Company.—"Almoigne a Rog. Causton, xiij s."—*Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.*

William Causton.

1405.—"Willielmus Causton de Romene et Alicia vxor ejus" made over land to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Sandwich, in the 6th Henry IV.—*Collections for a History of Sandwich, by William Boyes.* 4to. Canterbury, 1792, p. 39.

Note b, on the names of Causton, &c. *continued.*

Stephen Causton.

1434.—"Item pour les gentz dalmoigne de Mercery.—Stephen Causton pūr xlv semaynes le semayne, xiiij d."—*Mercers' Records. Wardens' Accounts.*

Oliver Cawston.

1465.—The following entry appears in the list of Burial Fees for St. Margaret's Parish, Westminster—

"It^{m} rec^{d} de Oliver Cawston die sepult' sui p' iiij^{r} tapr viij d."

John Causton.

1466.—Left sums of money by will to various religious houses of Norwich.—*History of the Religious Orders, &c. of Norwich, by Mr. John Kirkpatrick,* 8vo, Norwich, 1845.

William Causton.

1485.—Of West Wickham (or Westerham), Kent. His Will is preserved in the Registers of the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Rochester, but contains nothing of interest.

Thomas Causton.

1495.—Of Beckingham, Kent. His Will is also preserved in the Registry of the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Rochester, but yields nothing worthy of notice.

There were in later times families of *Causton*, at Causton, in Essex, and at Oxted, in Surrey.—*Burke's General Armoury.*

At the present time a strict inquiry has failed to discover any one bearing the name of Causton (or any similar name) in the neighbourhood or town of Hadlow, Kent, nor is any trace of the old family known on wood, stone, or glass, in the ancient Mansions or Churches of the district.

Note c.

ON "CAXTON" AND "CAUSTON" AS THE NAME OF A PLACE.

Causton, Kent.

The following is from the pen of the Rev. L. B. Larking, Vicar of Ryarsh, Kent.

"In his Preface to the 'Historyes of Troye' Caxton says, 'I was born and learned mine English in Kent in the Weald.' How he would have pronounced his own name we may gather from a comparison with the mode in which others were pronounced in that district, and this we learn from the form in which they present themselves in old manuscripts, at a time when the scribe wrote by ear, and had no settled law of spelling to guide him.

"In manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find Hadlow invariably written Haudloo or Haulo; Francklyn is written Fraunclyn; Alchin, Auchin; Malling, Mauling; Wanting, Waunting; Addington, Audinton. These names are all selected from the Weald, or the neighbourhood of Hadlow. Were it necessary we could yet add a large number more. We have, however, cited sufficient to prove that in the Weald, and specially in that part in which Hadlow is situated, the *a* was pronounced broad. It is also well known that at the above period *x* was pronounced something very like *ss*. Thus Vaux is frequently written Vauss; Fyneux, Fyness; and we have Exhurst as often as Esshurst, for one and the same place, just as the English rendering of Bruxelles is to this day Brussels. Admitting therefore the pronunciation of *a* and

Note c, on places called Caxton, &c. continued.

x to be as we have stated (and there is hardly any doubt that it was so), CAXTON in speaking of himself would have called himself CAUSSTON. But we have a most decided exemplification of this in reference to Caxton in Cambridgeshire. In Rot. Origin. 41 Edw. III., rot. 42, there is the following entry:—'Cantebr. Joh'es Freville dat viginti marcas, &c." In English thus:—Cambridgeshire, John Freville gives twenty marks for license to enfeoff John de Carleton and John de Selv'le in the manor of CAUSTON.' In the 'Inquisitiones post mortem,' 4 Ric. II, No. 23, in a record of the same estate we find, Elena, the widow of Sir John Frevill, having as her dower, the third part of the manor of CAXTON in Cambridgeshire. It must therefore have been pronounced CAUSSTON, or it never could have appeared in that form in the 'Originalia.' In the fourteenth century, then, CAXTON and CAUSTON were one and the same name.

"Fuller says that 'William Caxton was born in that town' (*i. e.* Caxton). Caxton as we have seen tells us himself that he was born in the Weald of Kent. We must look therefore for CAXTON *alias* CAUSTON in the Weald for his birthplace. Now in the parish of Hadlow (*alias* Haulo) in the Weald is the manor or ville of CAUSTON. Late in the fourteenth century it was possessed by a family of the same name, 'DE CAUSTON,' one of whom we conclude to have been our illustrious Typographer.

"It may be well to add that the manor of CAUSTON was held of the honour of Clare, the lords of which, in the fifteenth century, were that ducal and royal house by whom William Caxton was warmly patronized. Their forest of South Frith; close to Causton, descended, through one of the coheiresses of Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Tunbridge, to Richard, Duke of York (father of the Duchess of Burgundy and Edward IV), whose widow possessed it at her death.

"We think, from the above premises, we can with safety assert that CAUSTON in Hadlow may take to itself the honour of having been the birthplace of William Caxton, and our Society may congratulate itself on having been the first to decide this interesting fact, which has hitherto been a subject of hopeless inquiry.—L.B.L.—*Archæologia Cantiana; or, Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society*, vol II.

"Causton is the next that claims our consideration, because it owned a family of that surname. It was in ages of higher ascent the demean and interest of some of this name, but whether the Caustons of the county of Salop were issued from hence or these of this seat extracted originally from thence is yet under dispute, and the more because evidence of Deeds, which is the lanthorn not only of antiquity but sometimes of reason also, is wholly wanting. It is without controversy this mansion was not long in the Caustons, for the thread of succession was interrupted and broken, and Hugh Causton, by sale, conveyed it over to the Wattons of Addington.—*Villare Cantianum, by Thomas Phillipott*, folio, Lynn, 1776.

"Caustons is a parish which had formerly owners of that name. In the 8th year of King Hen. II the heirs of Hugh de Causton and William Franklyn held the eighth part of a knight's fee in Hadlow. This manor continued in the name of Causton till Hugh Causton alienated it to one of the family of Watton, of Addington, in which it remained till William Watton, of Addington, about the reign of King Edward the fourth, sold it to Thomas Peckham."—*Lyson's History*, folio, Canterbury, 1782.

Cauxton, Norfolk.

17. Henry V. A grant in old Norman French, from William Earl of Suffolk to John Frampton, of 10 marcs to be paid from the receipts of the manor of *Cauxton* in Norfolk.—*Brit. Mus. Campbell Charters* xxiii, 19.

Caxstone, Huntingdonshire.

This place is mentioned in *Liber Albus* (Ryley's translation), p. 350.

Caxton, Cambridgeshire.

This was, anciently, a town of great importance, and several writers have erroneously designated it as the birthplace of William Caxton. Many interesting particulars concerning it may be found in *British Museum Additional MSS.* 5804, 5819, 6823, &c.

Note d.

SOME PARTICULARS IN THE LIFE OF LOUIS DE BRUGES, SEIGNEUR DE LA GRUTHUYSE AND EARL OF WINCHESTER.

The history of this nobleman, so celebrated in Flemish history, is not sufficiently known to English readers. He was descended from an ancient Flemish stock, and his father, Jean de Bruges, was long remembered in the annals of chivalry for the splendid tournament given by him in 1392 at Bruges. In these jousts more than a hundred of the most renowned knights of the age bore a part, and in memory of the noble feats there performed the Town Council instituted, a few years later, a society called "L'Ours blanc," under the auspices of which a tournay was held in Bruges every Easter. These were not discontinued until the year 1480, so that they took place annually during the whole period that our Caxton was a resident in that city—another cause, perhaps, of his great partiality for everything associated with chivalry.

Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, born about the same time as Caxton (and who survived him but a year), made his first public appearance in arms at the Bruges jousts when about 17 years of age, and acquitted himself with great honour.

In 1449 Philippe le Bon appointed him "Cupbearer," and in 1453 he was sent to protect Oudenarde, in case of attack from the men of Ghent; but the Brugeois, with whom he was always popular, procured his recall, wishing him to take the military government of their own town. Here he successfully opposed an artful manœuvre of the Gantois to obtain possession of Bruges. At the celebrated Council of the "Vœu du Faisan," held in 1454 at Lille, the object of which was to rouse all Christendom, and especially the people of the Low Countries, to oppose the Turks, the Seigneur took the following oath: "Messire Lois de Gruthuse voa de servir Monseigneur audit voyage, de sou corps et de sa chevance, et ne l'abbandonnera jusques á la mort en tous les voyages oú il sera, ou en son lieu, monseigneur de Charolois ou monseigneur d' Estampes." In 1455 he married Marguerite de Borssele. In 1461, having served his Prince as Ambassador, Chamberlain, and Privy Counsellor, he was rewarded for his services by being created a Knight of the Golden Fleece, the highest honour his sovereign could bestow upon him. In 1463 he was appointed Lieutenant General of Holland, Zealand, and Trieste.

The first notice we have of a direct connection of Louis de Bruges with English matters is in 1466, when he came over as Ambassador from Duke Philip, to conclude a peace with Edward IV, and at the same time to treat concerning the marriage of Charles le Hardi (son of Philip) with Margaret of York. This marriage was celebrated at Midsummer of the ensuing year at Bruges, and at the Festival, which was maintained for a whole week with the utmost splendour, the Seigneur took his part in the jousts. In 1470 occurred the circumstances by which Louis de Bruges is best known to Englishmen. That year saw Edward IV driven suddenly from his kingdom by the Earl of Warwick, and crossing the sea with numerous followers to seek succour of the Duke of Burgundy. On nearing the Flemish coast they were attacked by Corsairs, but at this critical moment Louis de Bruges, who was in the neighbourhood with a fleet of 26 ships, and who little suspected to whom he was rendering such aid, sent out assistance. As soon as he knew it was the king of England, he took boat and hurried to receive him and his suite. For nearly three months he was in constant attendance on the king, who visited the Seigneur at his Chateau of Oostcamp, and with several of his nobles resided in the town mansion of the Seigneur in Bruges. The way in which Edward IV regained his throne, after about three months, with a precipitancy only equalled by his expulsion, is well known. His brother-in-law, the Duke Charles, had promised sixteen vessels of war to assist him in his efforts to regain his kingdom, and Louis de Bruges prepared to follow and second the attempt, a proceeding, however, which was rendered needless by the rapid success of the Yorkist army. On quitting Bruges the king, who was a great favourite with the Brugeois, was surrounded by crowds of citizens, impeding his way, each anxious to behold him for the last time. Touched by so spontaneous a proof of attachment, the king, instead of traversing the canal from Bruges, as he originally intended, determined to gratify the wish of the people, and walked with them to Damme, where he took boat. On finding himself again firmly established on the throne, Edward, wishing to show to the citizens of Bruges his appreciation of their services and the hearty reception they had given him, wrote them an autograph letter of thanks, which was despatched by special messenger. He also about this time, probably incited by the splendid manuscripts he had seen in the Chateau of Louis de Bruges, ordered many expensive books to be written and illuminated for him at Bruges. Of these several may still be recognised in the old Royal Library in the British Museum.

Greater honours were bestowed upon Louis de Bruges when, charged with a mission from his sovereign, he shortly after visited the English capital. The king and Parliament received him with unbounded magnificence, and the people with loud acclamations. It was on this occasion that he received Letters Patent creating him *Earl of Winchester*, with permission to quarter the Arms of that ancient title with those of England on his shield. Nor were his new honours empty, for, to support their dignity, he was allowed to draw annually from the revenues of the Port of Southampton the sum of £200. This was granted to him and his heirs male, but for some unknown cause, the deeds by which this grant was secured, were delivered up to Henry VII at Calais in the year 1500, being eight years after the death of Louis de Bruges. The latter portion of the career of this eminent man was more chequered than the former. Under Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and the Princess Mary of Burgundy, he enjoyed the highest favour, and was extremely popular among the Brugeois, to whom he had rendered frequent services; but upon the marriage of the Duchess Mary with Maximilian of Austria, his fortunes became more precarious. The policy of the new Prince and that of the Seigneur were often irreconcileable, and for some time the Seigneur found himself a prisoner at Malines, and all his goods confiscated. Restored to freedom, he again took part in the troubled state of his country's affairs, until November 1492, when he fell sick, and died at Bruges at the age of about 70 years. In that city he was buried with his ancestors, in a noble Mausoleum, the old chroniclers recording that a fearful storm raged round the Church of Notre Dame during the ceremony.

Very few characters appear in history so irreproachable as that of Louis de Bruges; but, next to the services rendered by him to Edward IV, the feature that most attracts *us* is his great love of literature. The library amassed by himself was scarcely inferior to those of the kings of France, and the Dukes of Burgundy (see also *Note e*). Among the artists employed by him was the luckless *Colard Mansion*, and it is possible that this celebrated printer may have been assisted in his new art by the Seigneur, who is styled by him "compere."

The history of this remarkable man has been vividly delineated in one of the most interesting works which proceeded from the pen of M. Van Praet, under the title of "*Recherches sur Louis de Bruges*," 8vo, Paris, 1831; and from this work have the preceding remarks been mostly gleaned.

Note e.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BURGUNDIAN AND FRENCH LIBRARIES OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

These lists comprise extracts from the Libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy and Louis de Bruges; from the Libraries of the Louvre and of Jean, Duke of Berry: showing that the works which issued from Caxton's press were the standard books of his age. Indeed, take away the Latin and the purely English books from the list of Caxton's productions, and not one will be left of which the French original cannot be traced in

Note e, continued.

these magnificent Libraries. The collection of the Dukes of Burgundy included two English works, afterwards printed at Westminster, viz. No. 1088, " Boethius," probably the version by Chaucer; and No. 1090, an English version of " Cathon." The descriptions in the following extracts will also afford a very good idea of the material, binding, and, in some cases, the value of each work.

From the Libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy. The Inventory, taken about 1467, *is preserved in the Public Library, Lille. The following particulars are extracted from the " Bibliothéque Protypographique." Paris,* 4*to,* 1830.

Ducal Library of Burgundy.

No. 884. Ung livre en parchemin couvert d'ais blans, intitulé Le premier livre du Recoeul des Histoires de Troyes." Another copy. 894.

No. 893. Ung autre livre en parchemin couvert d'ais noirs, intitulé Le second livre du recoeul des Histoires de Troyes.

No. 2191. L'Ystoire de Jason, couvert de cuir jaune, à deux cloans de cuir, et cincq boutons de chacun costé.

No. 1950. Les Dictz moraulx des Philosophes, couvert de cuir rouge, à tout deux cloans de léton, histoiré. Five other copies. 941, 943, 944, 973, 2097.

No. 1088. Boece de consolacion en Anglois, couvert de cuir rouge.

No. 1542. Boece de Consolacion, couvert de velours noir, à clouz et cloans dorez. Eight other copies. 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541.

No. 1570. Le livre de la Moralité des nobles homes sur Le Jeu des Echés, couvert de cuir rouge à clouans d'Argent, armoiez aux armes de monseigneur le duc qui Philipe le Hardi fut nomé. Six other copies. 971, 1568, 1569, 1571, 2120, 2121.

No. 2146. Ung livre couvert de cuir blancq, à deux cloans et cincq bouts de léton sur chacun costé historié et intitulé L'Ymaige du monde. Nine other copies. 778, 817, 818, 819, 820, 823, 999, 2145, 2147.

No. 2123. Le livre du Regnart, couvert de cuir blanc, à deux cloans de léton. Three other copies. 1326, 1327, 1328.

No. 1953. Tulle, de viellesse, de Amicitiâ, et Le debat de vrai noblesse. Also—1005, 1006, 1010, 1018, and 1054.

No. 2088. De Godefroy de Bouillon, couvert de cuir blanc à deux cloans de léton. Another copy. 1055.

No. 855. Le livre des trois Pélerinages en parchemin couvert d'ais blans. Also 795.

No. 724. La Légende dorée, ung grant livre en parchemin couvert de Satin figuré noir à grans clous. Two other copies. 725 and 1967.

No. 1090. Cathon en anglois, en papier couvert de rouge cuir.

No. 1008. Caton en francois en parchemin couvert d'ais rouges.

No. 1658. Le livre que fit le chevalier de la Tour à l'enseignement de ses filles. Ung grant volume couvert de cuir, garny à tout deux clouans, hystorié. Two other copies. 991 and 992.

No. 2102. Le livre d'Ysopet, couvert de cuir grisâtre tout dessiré.

No. 1981. La Mort du roy Artus, couvert de cuir jaune, histoiré. Another copy. 1264.

No. 2291. Le Roman de Paris et de la belle Vienne, traduit de provençal en françois, par Pierre de La Ceppède marseillois, sur papier, avec miniatures.

No. 1210. Neuf quayers de papier escript de lettre bastarde en prose, contenant la Légende de Sainte Katheline. Other copies—1211, 1212.

No. 2116. Livre de bonnes meurs, couvert de cuir rouge, a deux cloans de léton.

No. 963. Ung livre nomé Le livre des Fais d'Armes. En parchemin couvert d'ais rougastres bien clouées. Also 2118.

No. 2070. L'Orloge de Sapience, couvert de cuir noir, istorié. Another copy. 1229.

From the Library of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, who died in 1492. *The Reference numbers are from "Recherches sur Louis de Bruges." Paris,* 8*vo,* 1831.

Note c, continued.

Library of Louis de Bruges.

No. LX. Le Recueil des histoires Troyennes, par Raoul Lefèvre. Très beau msc. sur vél., du quinzième siècle, écrit en anc. grosse bâtarde, et enrichi de quarante-quatre belles miniatures.

No. XII. Le livre des Quatre dernières Choses à venir. Beau msc. sur vél., du quinzième siècle, en anc. grosse bâtarde.

No. XXXIV. La Moralité du jeu des Echecs, traduite par Jean de Vignay, msc sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde.

No. LXI. Histoire de la Conquête de la Toison-d'Or. (Life of Jason). Très beau msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. grosse bâtarde, enrichi de 18 grandes et belles miniatures.

No. XXXVII. Les dits des Philosophes. Msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde. Another copy. No. XXXIV.

No. XXXIV. Boëce de la Consolation. Msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde.

No. LXXXV. Le Livre intitulé, Eracles; Godefroy of Buloyne. Très beau msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle.

No. XLVII. Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. Tres beau msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. grosse bâtarde.

No. LXXX. La Légende dorée. Beau msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde. The Preface begins—"Monseigneur saint Jerosme dit ceste autorite," &c.

No. XLII. Le Livre des bonnes Moeurs. Msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde et orné de quatre miniatures.

No. XLVI. De la Chose de Chevalerie en Faits d'Armes. Msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, en anc. bâtarde.

No. VII. L'Horloge de Sapience. Beau msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle en anc. grosse bâtarde.

No. LXXXIII. La Légende de S. Catherine de Sienne. Beau msc. sur vél., du 15 siècle.

No. LXXXVI. Description du Siége de Rhodes, traduite du latin de Guillaume Caoursin. Msc. sur vél., du 15me siècle, écrit en anc. bâtarde.

From the Library of the Louvre under Charles V., Charles VI., and Charles VII., 1373-1427. *The Reference numbers are from "Catalogue des livres de l' ancienne Bibliothéque du Louvre." Paris,* 8vo., 1836.

Royal Library of France.

No. 152. Le Liure des Esches moralise, couvert de veluyau v'meil a queue, a fermoirs dargent a cignes blancs, et le dōna au Roy monss. de Berry son frere. Six other copies, numbered 123, 190, 367, 394, 468, 1094.

No. 1098. Un liure des Moralitez des Philosophes, en francois, de lettre bastarde, couvert de cuir qui fut vert, a deux fermoirs de laton.

No. 101. Boece de Consolacion, bien historie et escript. Seven other copies, numbered 110, 112, 118, 238, 435, 655, 885.

No. 117. L'Ymage du Monde, bien escript de grosse lettre. Seven other copies, 38, 366, 404, 476, 507, 556, 1113.

No. 917. Ouide Metamorfoseos, en francois, couūrt de cuir a emprainctes, a ij fermoers de laton. Other copies, 27, 298.

No. 256. Le Liure du Regnart, couūt de cuir rouge. Six other copies, 89, 342, 417, 921, 957, 1104.

No. 1110. Un liure de Godefroy de Buillon, en vng gros volume, escript en francois, bien historie & enlummine, couūt de soye a queue bien vieille, a ij fermoirs dargent. Twelve other copies, 32, 37, 79, 96, 282, 284, 285, 286, 292, 324, 492, 1110.

Note e, continued.

Library of Louis de Bruges.

No. 581. Une Legende doree, qui est escript de lettre dor sur p'chemin noū, 2 petit vol. couūt de cuir blanc a j fermoir de soie & de cuir. Five other copies, 22, 86, 213, 240, 884.

No. 158. Les compilacōns Ysopet et Auiōnet en latin et en francois, histories de noir, et st. bonnes moralites couūtes de drap dor. Other copies, 121, 957.

No. 226. Le Pelerinage du Monde, de l'Ame, de Jhūcst, couūt de soie vert a queue, q. dona au Roy le comte de Harcourt. Other copies, 259, 502.

No. 276. Du Roy Artus, de la Table ronde, et de la Mort dudit Roy, tres bien escript & enlumine, et de grant volume, a iij coulombes. Also 299 and 1122.

No. 280. La vie S. Charlemane.

No. 175. Vegesse de Cheuallye tres bien escript et ystoriee, couūt de veluyau celestin, et fermoers dargent des armes dAnceure. Nine other copies, 119, 132, 137, 258, 398, 447, 458, 462, 511.

No. 280. Les iiij fils Aymon.

No. 335. De Blanchardin et de Beaumauuaiz, tres viel.

From the Library of Jean Duc de Berri, au Chateau de Mehun-sur-Yevre. A.D. 1416. *The original Priced Catalogue, written on vellum, is preserved in the Library of Sainte-Geneviéve, Paris; and the Reference numbers to the volumes are from "La Librairie du Jean, Duc de Berry," par Hiver de Beauvoir. Paris,* 8vo., 1860.

Library of Jean, Duc of Berry.

No. 105. Un livre de *Troye la Grant,* couvert de veluyau vermeil fermant à deux fermoers d'argent doré ronds, lequel fut acheté par mondit Seigneur de Bureau de Dammartin, au mois d'Avril 1402. 40 liv.

No. 65. Un livre des *Dits moraux des philosophes* escript en françois de lettre de court historié au commencement d'enlumineure, acheté ou mois de janvier 1403 pour le prix de 80 escus d'or.

No. 66. Another copy. 8 liv. 15 sch.

No. 93. *Boesce de consolation* couvert de cuir rouge, &c. 75 liv.

No. 115. Un livre en françois de l' *Image du monde,* que fist maistre Gosserin historié en plusieurs lieux, &c. 12 liv. 10 s.

No. 114. Another copy. 55 s.

No. 92. Un livre du *Renart,* couvert de cuir vermeil, &c. 50 liv.

No. 82. Un livre, en francois, d' *Ovide Metamorphorios* couvert d'un cuir vermeil empraint à deux fermoers d'argent doré, tout plains et les tixus de soye vermeille. 30 liv.

No. 83. Another copy. 30 liv.

No. 84. Another copy. 25 liv.

No. 154. *Les Croniques d'Angleterre* escript en mauvais françois couvert de cuir fauve, à deux fermoers de laiton. 1 liv. 17s. 6d.

No. 90. Un livre du *Pelerinage du corps et de l'ame,* historié au commencement et en plusieurs lieux de blanc et de noir, fermant á deux fermoers d'argent blanc à deux tixus de soye noire.

No. 135. Un très-bel livre de la *Légende dorée,* historié en plusieurs lieux très-richement, couvert de drap de soie vermeil doublé de tiercelin, à deux fermoers d'argent doré esmailliés de saint Jean et saint Jacques. 75 liv.

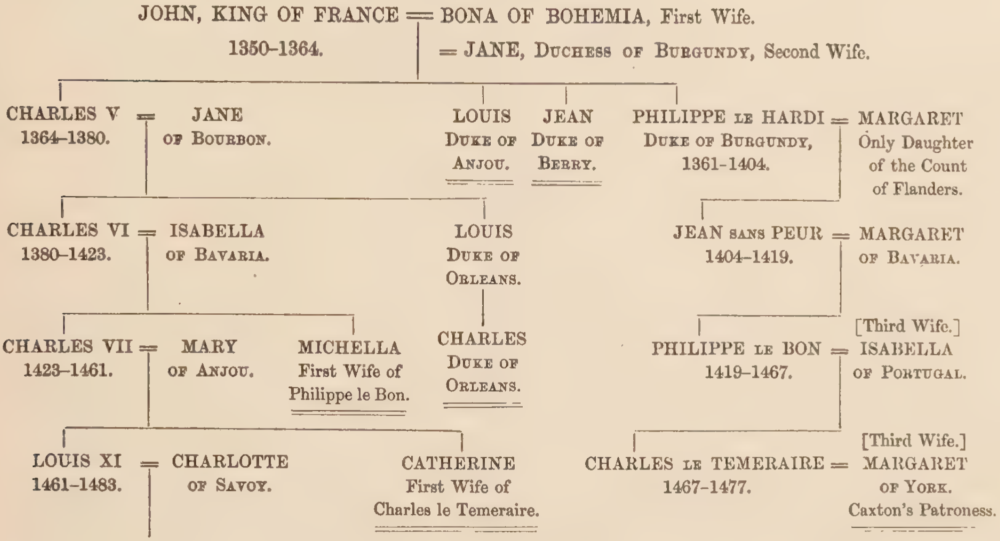
No. 70. Un petit livre en françois intitulé *des bonnes Mœurs* historié en plusieurs lieux, couvert de cuir vermeil empraint à deux fermoers de laiton doré, hachiés des armes de Mons. le duc et sur chascun ais cinq boullons de mesme; lequel livre fut donné à Monseigneur le iiij jour de mars mil cccc et neuf par frère Jacques le Grant augustin. 6 liv. 5 s.

No. 104. Un Romant qui parle des *Quatre fils Haymont,* &c., couvert de cuir rouge, &c. 15 liv.

The total sum at which this Library, containing only 162 vols., was valued on the death of the Duke, appears to have been 14,909 livres.

GENEALOGY

SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL FOUNDERS OF THE FRENCH AND BURGUNDIAN LIBRARIES.


JOHN, KING OF FRANCE = BONA OF BOHEMIA, First Wife.
1350–1364.
= JANE, Duchess of Burgundy, Second Wife.
CHARLES V = JANE
1364–1380.
of Bourbon.
LOUIS
Duke of
Anjou.
JEAN
Duke of
Berry.
PHILIPPE le HARDI = MARGARET
Duke of Burgundy,
1361–1404.
Only Daughter
of the Count
of Flanders.
CHARLES VI = ISABELLA
1380–1423.
of Bavaria.
LOUIS
Duke of
Orleans.
JEAN sans PEUR = MARGARET
1404–1419.
of Bavaria.
CHARLES VII = MARY
1423–1461.
of Anjou.
MICHELLA
First Wife of
Philippe le Bon.
CHARLES
Duke of
Orleans.
PHILIPPE le BON = ISABELLA
1419–1467.
[Third Wife.]
of Portugal.
LOUIS XI = CHARLOTTE
1461–1483.
of Savoy.
CATHERINE
First Wife of
Charles le Temeraire.
CHARLES le TEMERAIRE = MARGARET
1467–1477.
[Third Wife.]
of York.
Caxton's Patroness.

Note f.

ON EARLY PRINTING AT BRUGES.

Jean Briton and his claims.

In the Imperial Library at Paris is a small 4to Volume, of which no other copy is known to exist, and upon which a claim has been founded for the Printer by the Abbé Ghesquière, (Espr. des journ. Juin 1799), not only as the first in Bruges, but as the inventor of the art itself. The name by which the book is known is "Le Doctrinal pour l'instruction de tous chrestiens.". Its description is as follows:—The volume is in quarto, and should contain 32 leaves, divided into four sections of two sheets each, giving eight quarto leaves to each section. The first and last leaves, which were not printed on, are wanting in the Paris copy, having probably been thrown out by the binder, thus leaving thirty printed leaves; but that the above collation is correct is easily proved by the water mark in the paper, which is a dog passant, and which, the book being quarto, runs through the back, shewing the head of the dog on one leaf and the tail on the corresponding leaf. Thus the first leaf of the section having part of the water mark visible, the eighth leaf should have the supplementary portion. There are two types used; one for the text, a small secretary, which is the very same as that in the "Fasciculus temporum," printed by Veldener, at Utrecht, in 1480, and the other a black letter of a much larger face, but cast on the same body, which is used for head lines only. The pages have 15 lines, *Note f, continued.*

Jean Briton, and his claims.

and there are both signatures and catchwords. No one acquainted with the minutiæ of the earliest books could attribute this tract to the infancy of the Art, and its whole claim rests on the following Colophon, where the latinity and statements are equally incorrect.

> " Aspice presentis scripture gracia que sit
> Confer opus opere . spectetur codice codex
> Respice q) munde . q) terse . q) qz decore
> Jmprimit hec ciuis brugēsis brito Johānes
> Jnueniēs artem nullo mostrāte mirādam
> Jnstrumēta quoqz non minus laude stupēda

Which may be freely rendered thus :—

> Behold the elegance of this writing,
> Compare this work with another, this book with another book,
> See how clearly, how neatly, how tastefully
> John Brito, a citizen of Bruges, prints these works,
> Discovering a wonderful art, no one having instructed him
> The astonishing implements also not less praiseworthy

This John Brito was probably the same man whose name appears for many years, between 1454 and 1494, in the Registers of the Guild of St. John, noticed previously in Chapter IV. Both Bernard (De l'origine de l'Imprimerie II. 398) and Van Praet (Notice sur Colard Mansion) are of opinion that Veldener was the real printer; and that Brito, having invented some plan of stencilling, tried it on the Doctrinal, using the word " imprimit," to describe his process, and that Veldener, when really printing from one of these copies, left in Brito's phraseology. This does not seem a very satisfactory explanation, and the evidence of the Doctrinal having been printed at Bruges receives some confirmation from the existence in the archives of that city of some printed leaves of a work which were rescued a few years ago by the Archeviste Mons. P. A. Bossaert. He has thus labelled them, " Fragments imprimés découverts dans l'interieur d'une vielle couverture de registre, au dépôt des archives, en 1854, par l'archeviste." They consist of six leaves and six half leaves, and the typography in its two sorts of letter, in the peculiar arrangement of both catchwords and signatures, in the length of line, and number of lines in a page, agrees exactly with the unique Doctrinal at Paris, and was evidently from the same press. The document, of which a complete copy exists in MS. in the Town Library, was issued in the reign of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, after her marriage with Maximilian. The origin of the erroneous stanzas was probably this—Jean Briton, who was a member of the guild of St. John, was, like many of his fellows, a Printer in a rude way. As it was no uncommon thing for both Scribes and Printers at that period to reproduce the work before them, without attempting to suit its phraseology in any way to altered circumstances, so we can easily imagine that this Doctrinal may have appeared in a much cheaper and ruder form many years before, when this bombastic Colophon was in some degree applicable; and have been repeated in every edition up to 1480, which appears to be about the date of the Paris Doctrinal and of the Bruges Fragments.

Note g.

CAXTON MEMORIALS.

The following Contribution to *Notes and Queries* for July 19, 1851, from the pen of Mr. Bolton Corney, embraces the history of Caxton Memorial efforts up to that date :—

" After Caxton had slept with his fathers for three centuries, remembered only by a few antiquaries, it was deemed fit that a public monument should record his merits.

" The Roxburghe club, much to the honour of its members, undertook to bear the cost of it, and to superintend its execution. With regard to its location, there was no question as to the paramount claims of

Note g, continued.

Caxton Memorials.

Westminster. It was proposed, in the first instance, to place it in the collegiate church of St. Peter, within the precincts of which church Caxton had exercised his art. The want of a convenient space was rather an obstacle to that plan: a more serious obstacle was the amount of fees demanded on such occasions. It was then decided, and perhaps with more propriety, that it should be placed in the parish church of St. Margaret; and the execution of the monument, which was to be of the tablet form, was entrusted to the younger Westmacott.[1] An engraving of it has been published.[2] The inscription is:

To the memory
of William Caxton
who first introduced into Great Britain
the art of printing
and who A D. 1477 or earlier
exercised that art
in the abbey of Westminster.
This tablet
in remembrance of one
to whom
the literature of his country
is so largely indebted
was raised
anno Domini MDCCCXX
by the Roxburghe club
Earl Spencer, K.G. president.

"The monument, as a piece of sculpture, is simplicity itself, and therefore suitable to the place of its destination. To the inscription I venture to make some slight objections: 1. Whether Caxton "introduced into Great Britain the art of printing" admits of a doubt. There is no evidence to invalidate the colophon of the *Exposicio S. Jeronimi in simbolo Apostolorum.*[3] Dibdin fully believed in its authenticity.[4] 2. Caxton is very imperfectly designated. He was a well-informed writer, a most assiduous translator, and a very careful editor. As early as 1548, he was classed among the *Illustres majoris Britanniæ scriptores*[5] —but we are on the decline, it seems, in point of tact and intelligence. 3. The date of his decease, and the place of his burial, should have been stated. The facts are recorded in the accounts of the churchwardens of this very parish, and *nowhere else.*[6] 4. The inscription, as a composition, wants terseness: on this defect, I content myself with giving a hint *typographically.*

"In 1847 a fresh attempt was made to revive the memory of Caxton. After due notice, a public meeting was held on the 12th of June to "promote the erection of a monument to commemorate the introduction of printing into England, and in honour of William Caxton, the earliest English printer"—lord Morpeth in the chair. The meeting was extremely well attended. The form of monument proposed was, the combination of a fountain by day and a light by night—the poetical conception of the Rev. H. H. Milman. Some excellent speeches were made—and I cannot but particularize that of the noble chairman; considerable sums were subscribed—the Messieurs Clowes tendering £100; a committee, a sub-committee, a treasurer, and a secretary, were appointed.[7] With the proceedings of that meeting, as publicly reported, my information terminated.

"After a lapse of four years, a meeting of the subscribers to the *Caxton Testimonial* was advertised for the 10th July, to 'consider an offer made by the Coalbrookdale Iron Company to erect an *iron statue of Caxton*—and, in the event of the proposal being adopted, to determine the best means of carrying the same

(1) T. F. Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a literary life.* London, 1836. 8vo. i. 386.
(2) J. Martin, *A catalogue of books privately printed.* London, 1834. 8vo. p. 486.
(3) S. W. Singer, *Some account of the book printed at Oxford in* 1468. London, 1812. 8vo. p. 44.
(4) *Typographical antiquities*, by Joseph Ames, etc. London, 1810. 4to. *Life of Caxton*, p. 75.
(5) *Illvstrivm maioris Britanniae scriptorvm summariū avtore Ioanne Balaeo.* Gippeswici, 1548. 4to. fol. 208.
(6) John Nichols, *Illustrations of the manners and expences of ancient times.* London, 1797. 4to. p. 3.
(7) *The Times,* June 14, 1847.

Note g, continued.

Caxton Memorials.

into effect.' I was much astonished at this announcement A meeting to *consider* an offer to perpetuate a fiction in connexion with an art which surpasses all other arts in its power of establishing truth! On reflection, I became calm; and felt that Mr. Henry Cole, the honorary secretary, was perfectly right in adopting the customary phraseology. The result of this meeting is a desideratum. It seems to have been private; for an examination of 300 columns of *The Times*, being the history of four days, did not lead to the discovery of one word on the *iron statue of Caxton.*

"If the statue-mania did not now prevail to an unexampled extent, I should feel much confidence in the sound sense of the subscribers—but I have some irrepressible misgivings.

"According to *my* feelings, which I avail myself of this opportunity of recording, we may commemorate an eminent individual in better ways than by the erection of a statue; the philanthropist, by an alms-house—the scholar, by scholarships—the naval commander, by a sea mark—etc. Admitting that a statue may sometimes be the most desirable form of monument, the *statue* of an individual of whose features we are in entire ignorance is a misnomer. It is scarcely less than an absurdity.

"As I have intimated that there is no authentic portrait of Caxton, I must now justify my conviction. Ames published a woodcut as a portrait of our venerable Caxton[8]: Dibdin discovered it to be a 'portrait of Burchiello,'[9] an eccentric Florentine barber!—le poéte le plus bizarre qui ait jamais écrit! Horace Walpole published a print said to represent Earl Rivers 'introducing Caxton to Edward IV.'[10]—which was copied from an illuminated MS. of *The dictes and sayings of the philosophers*, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. Now, what says Mr. Todd? 'That Caxton *printed this book* in 1477, is well known. But what has that circumstance to do with the earl *presenting or attending the presentation of his own manuscript?* The figure here introduced by the earl is evidently, by the tonsure and habit, a *priest;* which Caxton was not.'[11] The evidence, in both cases, is very decisive; and I have heard of no other engraved portraits of Caxton. The enamel-miniature by Bone, produced as *authentic* at the meeting of 1847, was copied from the Lambeth manuscript! It was sold by Messieurs Christie and Manson in 1850.

"Viewing Caxton as a man of considerable literary abilities, and as the *first English printer*, I have now to propose for him a monument which shall do justice to his merits in both capacities—a monument which shall be visible at all times, and in all places: I propose a collective impression of his original compositions. Such a volume would be a monument *in honour of Caxton*, as it would give a *true* account of his life and labours. It would also exhibit much of the literary history of the times; some sound criticism and notions on editorship; and curious specimens of the feelings and style of our forefathers. It would comprise what no amount of wealth could procure—what no single library in the realm could produce. It would be, to use the just and forcible observation of Messieurs Visconti and Castellan, on a somewhat similar occasion, 'un monument plus glorieux, plus utile et plus durable que ceux même que l'on peut ériger avec le marbre et le bronze.'[12]

"*Proposed Conditions.*

"1. A volume, to be entitled **The Caxton Memorial**, shall be printed for subscribers under approved editorship, and shall contain all the original compositions of WILLIAM CAXTON, as proems, notes, colophons, etc., with specimens of his translations, and fac-simile cuts of his device and types.

"2. In order to expedite the progress of the volume, and to ensure the *perfect accuracy* of its contents, there shall be three co-editors—one of whom shall act as secretary.

"3. The volume shall be printed in Roman type, with the ancient orthography and punctuation; and in two sizes—in royal octavo, and in demy octavo.

"4. Subscribers of £1 1s shall be entitled to a copy on royal paper, and subscribers of 10s 6d to a copy on demy paper.

"5. Each editor shall be entitled to the same number of copies as are allowed by the Camden and other similar societies.

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(8) *Typographical antiquities.* London, 1749. 4to. p. 54.

(9) *The bibliographical decameron.* London, 1817. 8vo. ii. 288.

(10) *Catalogue of royal and noble authors.* Strawberry-hill, 1758. 8vo. i. 60.

(11) *Catalogue of the archiepiscopal manuscripts at Lambeth.* London, 1812. Folio. p. 37.

(12) *Journal des savans.* 1818. 4to. p. 389.

Note g, continued.

Caxton Memorials.

"6. The number of copies printed shall not exceed the number for which subscriptions shall have been received, except as required by the fifth rule, and as presents to such public libraries, or private collectors, as may furnish a part of the materials.

"7. Printers and publishers subscribing for six copies shall be allowed a discount of 25 per cent.

"8. The names of the subscribers, and an account of the receipts and expenditure, shall be added to the volume.

"The project now announced was formed by me, as to its principal features, at the close of the year 1849; but not a line was written before the appearance of the advertisement on the *iron statue.* It had been communicated, however, in private, to the editor of *Notes and Queries.* To this fact I have no doubt he will cheerfully bear witness. As the previous scheme of a 'Caxton Testimonial' was then almost forgotten, the idea could not have been conceived in a spirit of rivalry. Nevertheless, if need be, I would oppose to the utmost of my ability, and fearless of any array of names which the rolls of literature may furnish, the PERPETUATION OF A FICTION."

The proposition of reprinting Caxton's works met with no practical support, and at a meeting presided over by Mr. Botfield, in connection with the "Iron Statue," the amount of subscriptions was found to be far short of the requisite £500. After the Funds collected had remained on hand for three years, they were at last, by the consent of the subscribers, handed over to the "Printers' Pension Society," to form the nucleus of a Pension for the perpetual relief of some aged member of Caxton's own Craft. The balance thus paid over in the 1854, by the Treasurer, the Very Rev. Dr. Milman, was £184 4s, since when it has been augmented by special subscriptions till, in 1861, it amounted to £875 10s 1d, a sum sufficient to yield a pension of £25 per annum, and accordingly, this year, the first "Caxton Pensioner" has been elected.

And this, after all, is the best solution of the difficulty, and perpetuates the name of our great Master-printer in a manner which must appeal to the heart of every one who sufficiently values that noblest of all arts—the Art of Printing.

With reference to the fees for a monument in the Abbey, noticed by Mr. Corney, the following note may be added:—Dr. Dibdin was delegated to treat with the Dean and Chapter of Westminster concerning the fees demanded, which were thrice the cost of the Tablet itself. (*Northern Tour*, 8vo, 1838, p. 854.) The Roxburghe club hoped that these would be reduced to a nominal sum; but all the Doctor's powers of persuasion were ineffectual.

LIST OF AUTHORS CONSULTED AND REFERRED TO.

	Vide Pages
AMES, Joseph. Typographical Antiquities, being an Historical Account of Printing in England. London, 1749. 4to.	29, 46
ANDERSON, Adam. Deduction of the Origin of Commerce from the Earliest Accounts. London, 1787. 4to	11
ARCHÆOLOGIA. London. 4to. Vol. XXXI	46
ATKYNS, Richard. The Original and Growth of Printing. 1664. 4to.	80
BARROIS, J. Bibliothéque Protypographique, ou Librairies des Fils du Roi Jean, Charles V., Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne, et les siens. Paris, 1830. 4to.	Chapter II, and 278
BEAUVOIR, Hiver de. La Librairie de Jean Duc de Berry au Chateau de Mehun-sur-Yevre, 1416. Paris, 1860. 8vo.	Chapter II, and 280
BELGIUM. Le Bibliophile Belge, Tome I	26
BERNARD, Aug. De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe. Paris, 1853. 8vo., 2 vols.	31, 38, 39, 46, 48, 51, 52, 282
BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA. London, 1784. Folio.	3
BOYS, William. Collections for a History of Sandwich. Canterbury, 1792. 4to.	270, 273
CAMBRIDGE. The Account of Pythagoras's School in. (1773 ?). Folio	269
CAMPBELL, John, Lord. The Lives of the Lord Chancellors. London, 1845–7. 8vo., 7 vols.	18
CARTON, L'Abbé. Colard Mansion et les Imprimeurs Brugeois du 15me siècle. Bruges, 1851. 8vo. cum fig.	41
CAXTON and the Art of Printing. London, 1852. 12mo.	66
CLARK, Richard. Monument to Caxton. Five Letters by. London, 1847. 16mo.	68
DEVON, Frederick. Issues of the Exchequer, being a Collection of Payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue, from Henry III. to Henry VI. inclusive. London, 1837. 4to.	69, 70, 119, 269
——————— Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, &c., &c. London, 1835. 4to.	273
DIBDIN, Thomas Frognall, D.D. Ames's Typographical Antiquities, enlarged by. London, 1810–19. 4to. 4 vols.	17, 32, 46, 48, 64, 66, 79, 82
——— Bibliotheca Spenceriana; or, a Descriptive Catalogue of the Books printed in the fifteenth century, and of many valuable first editions in the Library of George John, Earl Spencer, K.G., &c. London, 1814–15. 8vo., 4 vols.	59
——— The Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany. London, 1821. 8vo., 3 vols.	41, 58
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